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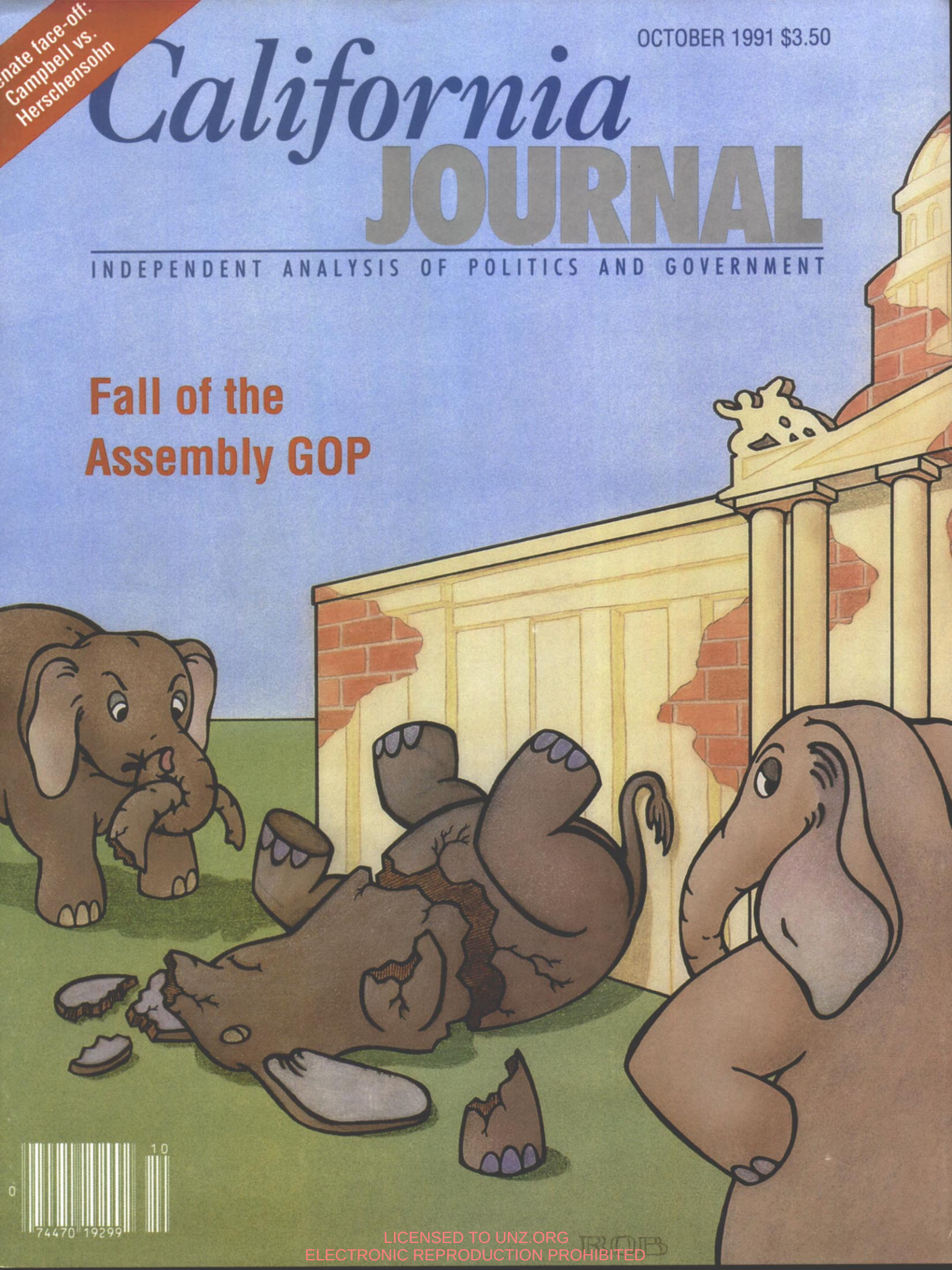
INDEPENDENT ANALYSIS OF POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Fall of the Assembly GOP



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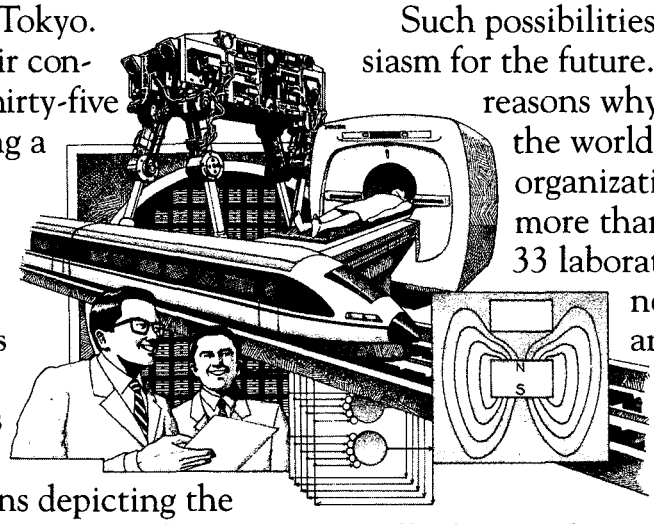

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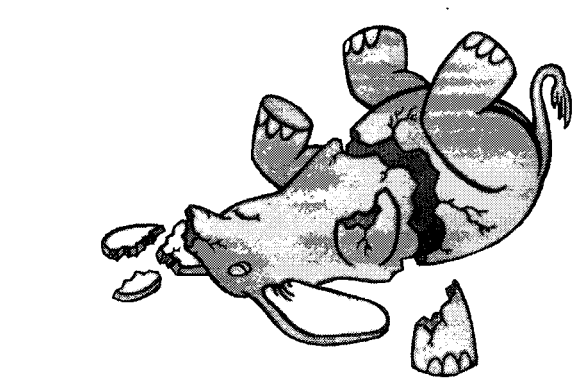

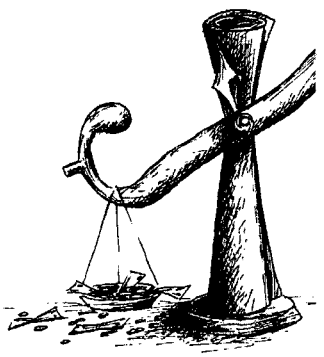

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UP FRONT

Comes now one James Morgan. In the September issue of *California Business*, Morgan is pictured on page 17, hand thoughtfully touching his chin, gazing direct into the camera, a wild modernish painting as backdrop. This Morgan fella is the main feature in an advertisement extolling the virtues of a place called "The Commerce Park, Harris Branch." The Commerce Park is someplace near Austin, Texas, and the ad is meant to show that people in the know, people with clout, people who wield power, often chose to locate themselves in Texas rather than in California.

Says Morgan, "I didn't know what to expect when we first considered expanding our Santa Clara operations to Austin, Texas.

"What I found was surprising — a Texas I didn't know existed. Trees! And hills. A city that is sharp, vibrant and very compatible to advanced technology companies. For someone who imagined cacti and saddle sores, it was a very pleasant discovery."

One assumes from the ad that Morgan, chief executive officer of Applied Materials, presided over his company's decision to expand in Texas and not in California. In Austin rather than in Santa Clara County. One also assumes from his comments that Morgan would urge his fellow poobahs to go yon and do likewise.

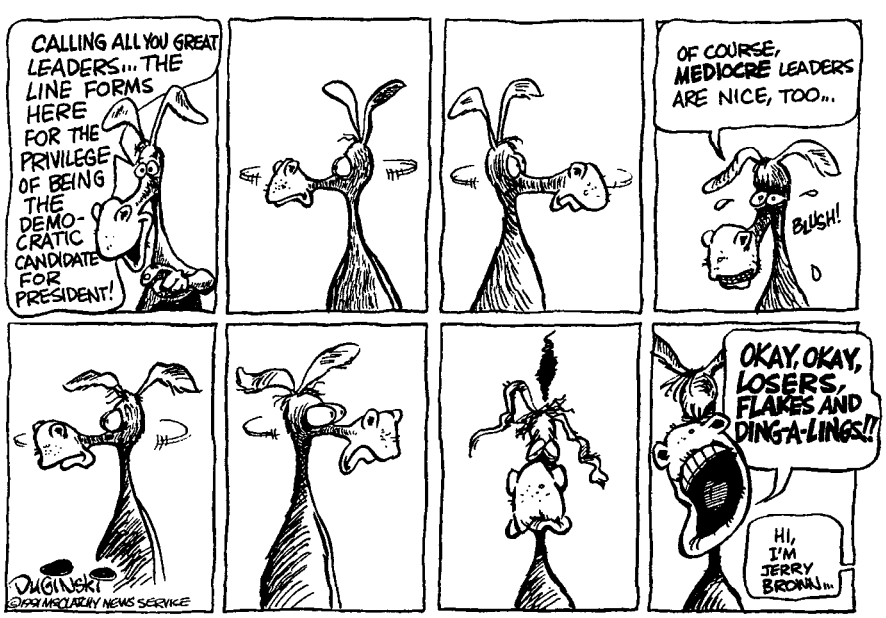
So, who is this James Morgan? Just a fella who runs a company that he chose to expand in Austin, Texas, rather than in Santa Clara County.

Oh, and by the way, he's also the husband of Becky Morgan, the Republican state senator from — oops — Santa Clara County.

Saul Halpert, a subscriber and a media consultant from Van Nuys, says our story on the history of political consulting (see *CJ*, September 1991) was confusing as to the whereabouts of Bill Roberts who, along with Stu Spencer, helped launch campaign consulting as a profession. "Bill Roberts," writes Halpert, "is now practicing his skills in that part of heaven reserved for campaign gurus."

Halpert apparently has reliable knowledge that Roberts died several years ago. Seems he covered the funeral as a reporter for KNBC-TV. Well, sure, we'll accept that.

Jerry Brown never ceases to amaze. Let's see if we have the chronology straight. First he raises a pot full of money and then runs for secretary of state as the champion of political reform. Then he raises even more money and runs for governor. While serving as governor, he runs for president twice, which, we recall, required him to raise still more money. Then he raised still more money and ran for the U. S. Senate, losing. After this, he went out to find himself, studying with Buddhists in Japan and with Mother Teresa in India. From this he learned the secret of the universe, which apparently was to become chairman of the California Democratic Party and raise more money for it than anybody had seen before. Judge him, he said, on how well he did. He did raise a lot of money, but he spent it without much affect. Then he stopped being chairman because he was thinking about the U.S. Senate again. But last month it apparently occurred to him that nobody interesting was running for president. And Jerry, if nothing else, is interesting. The will of the people was obvious to Jerry, as were the lessons of the past. This time Jerry will run, but he *won't* raise all that money. Raising money is bad and corrupting. No more than $100 from any one person. Meanwhile, we'll practice spelling Tsongas.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— John Grier

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ROSTRUM

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Is it so radical to ask that motorists pay for parking? Is it so radical to ask that they pay for the use of all highways? Is it radical to charge consumers (motorists and the trucking industry) for the costs they incur? Why should the community at large pay these costs, particularly when the inevitable impact is the nightmare of congestion, air pollution, dependence on foreign oil, global warming, petty crime, poor schools and the devastation of the nation's economy?

To write of American transportation without writing of motorist and trucking subsidies is like discussing syphilis without mentioning spirochetes, sex or penicillin.

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The broken elephant

Fall of the Assembly Republicans

By A.G. Block

There have been times over the past few years when the Assembly Republican Caucus has seemed like a large mechanical elephant. Although potentially powerful, its parts somehow are incapable of working together. As a result, most of the time it stalls dead in its legislative tracks. And when it does manage to move, lumbering off in one direction or another, it's as likely to burst asunder from the strain as to make any progress. If you paused next to the stalled beast, you might hear muffled but angry voices seeping through its seams. You'd get the feeling that if you popped the hatch, the pandemonium of tantrums and shouting matches would explode up from its belly.

This year, faced with the biggest stress of all — a staggering $14.7 billion state budget deficit — the elephant broke into disparate chunks. It is said people are at work, on repairs.

The recent budget crisis marked the end-point of a slow deterioration for Assembly Republicans, a decline that defies simple explanations.

Part of the problem is the inevitable result of caucus frustration over more than two decades of minority status, guaranteed for the past 10 years by the 1980 reapportionment, and exacerbated by term limits set by passage Proposition 140 a year ago. But to some degree the decline is also the result of personality conflicts, differences in style that have fostered feuds among members and their allies. And clearly part of the problem is the fact that the Republican Party itself is split along ideological lines, with moderates and conservatives at odds over issues such as abortion, gay rights, gun control, the environment and the role of government in solving problems caused by a fast-growing and ethnically diverse population. This rift, too, is reflected among members of the caucus.

From the outside looking in, the caucus' decline seemed to reach its nadir during the recent budget crisis (see "The budget," *CJ*, September 1991).

Said a Capitol insider, who asked not to be identified: "My God, [the caucus' performance] was the most embarrassing display of a lack of thought, talent, organization, strategy, coordination, understanding, political ability and personality. At every level, the caucus was an utter disaster."

Said another: "They don't know how to deliver a substantive package, how to negotiate it and how to strategize it. They don't know when to cut a deal and when

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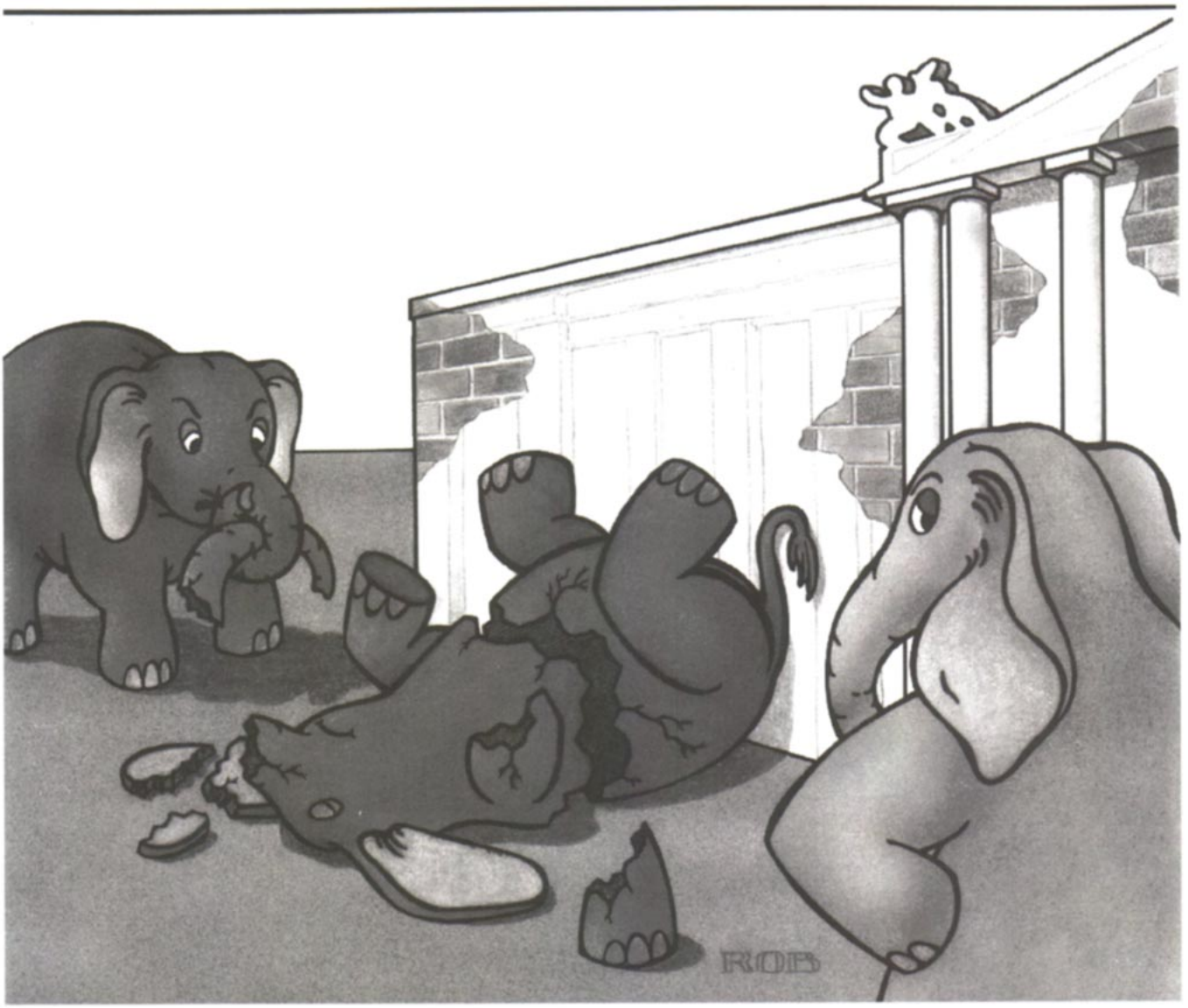

to push their agenda. They wait for someone else — whether it's the governor or Democrats — to come up with an idea, then — *then* — they think of all the reasons to shoot it down. And they never come up with an alternative idea."

Said another: "We're facing an enormous deficit, and all you hear is out-dated rhetoric. You have Gil Ferguson talking about how the Democrats are all green on the outside and red on the inside, all communists. And you have Pat Nolan talking about the Democratic agenda as 'Cradle-to-grave socialism.'"

(These comments were not, as one might think, solicited in a Democratic saloon; they are representative of a diverse cross-section of more than two dozen people who work closely with the Legislature, both inside and outside the Capitol.)

Among other things, the caucus' performance highlights the moderate-conservative rift inside the Republican Party, putting moderate Governor Pete Wilson at odds with a hard-core conservative-dominated caucus.

Ross Johnson, Assembly minority leader from 1989 until just after the budget crisis was resolved in July, disputes the notion that his caucus was dead in the water during budget negotiations. Instead, the former minority leader indicated that the caucus only looked ineffectual because Wilson undercut its plans before Republicans could bring them to the table. Johnson said that his leadership team devised a strategy in January, right after Wilson announced his budget, a strategy that called for in increased taxes to cover what was then "only" a $6 billion deficit.

But the plan was still-born. While not directly criticizing Wilson, Johnson indicated that his caucus' plan — a plan Johnson says might have been difficult to sell to Assembly Republicans anyway — turned to dust after the governor's initial tax increases were more than double the Republican starting point. Johnson said that he and other Republicans tried to warn Wilson that, in negotiations with Democrats, tax proposals are always raised and spending cuts are always lowered. But the damage, according to Johnson, had been done. Thus, said Johnson, he and his members were left with little more to do during the ensuing five months' deliberation than propose various cost-saving measures, most of which were dismissed by administration officials as "chump change."

Republicans never proposed another plan, however; nor did they seem capable of adjusting to the growing deficit, which eventually ballooned from $6 billion to $14.7 billion. In

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essence, after developing an initial strategy, they took a hike.

"Be fair," said Bill Jones, a moderate and Johnson's successor as minority leader. "California had [eventually] a $14.7 billion deficit ... and we closed a deal, with the cooperation of the Assembly Republican Caucus, within the time frame required by the Constitution.

"There can be some constructive criticism directed at our approach [during the budget crisis]. Many of us felt from the outset that we should propose something, anything, agreeable or not. But it was a very difficult problem. You're proposing on a moving target, and if your basic position is that you want no or very few new taxes, and the [deficit] keeps moving, it makes it hard to generate a strategy."

Jones acknowledged that the caucus' performance has been less than sterling of late, but he blames it on several factors, including difficulty adjusting to an active governor, who happened to be a Republican but who was much more moderate than his Republican predecessor and many members of the GOP caucus. Jones does not dispute that the caucus has been lacking in "creative solutions" to state problems over the past several years but blames it on continued frustration over its minority status.

"The caucus wants to be constructive," Jones said, adding that it is difficult for any group to be creative in a process it doesn't control. "What you're really saying is, `The majority took a position and you have to compromise to it.' When [GOP members] have a good idea, we can't get it to the floor because we can't accomplish anything without a 'yes' vote."

"We don't control our own destiny," added Johnson. "The speaker of the Assembly makes all appointments to all committees. It's like a baseball manager who gets to name not only his own starting line-up but the opposition's as well. How many games would you lose if you had that ability?"

Although it has not always been so in the past, Johnson said that, today, the minority leader is powerless because he can't reward or punish his own members. He can't even assign office or parking space, or increase a member's staff. Johnson cited an incident earlier this year when Republicans tried to remove one of their own — Cathie Wright — from the Assembly Rules Committee (see following profiles of Wright and Trice Harvey). Although Johnson did not say it, Republicans loyal to Johnson wanted Wright off Rules because she had joined an attempt to oust him as minority leader. Johnson said that 26 of the 31-member caucus voted to dump Wright but she refused to resign and Speaker Willie Brown backed her. She remained on Rules, and since a Rules assignment made her part of leadership, Wright essentially remained on a leadership team she had voted to depose. And Johnson couldn't do anything about it.

"A [minority] leader can't deliver anything inside his own caucus," Johnson said.

The former minority leader said that Proposition 140 also exacerbated problems within the Republican caucus by fueling the ambitions of younger members. Coupled with the Republican inability to punish dissidents, it means, he said, that members may act with impunity, and without fear of retribution. For instance, ambitious

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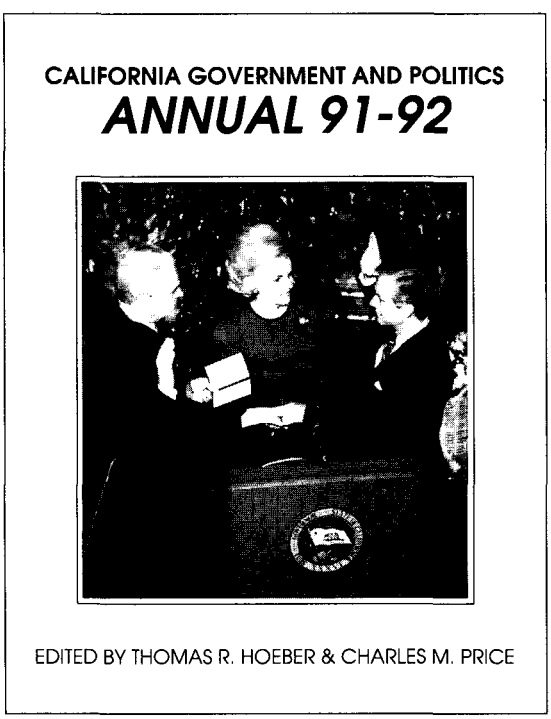

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sophomore Paul Woodruff endured no consequences from his abortive *coup* against Johnson last May; in fact, he emerged as a main player in the *coup* that did topple Johnson in July. He was rewarded by being named caucus chairman.

"Essentially, every member here has the same six years," Johnson said, referring the provisions of Proposition 140 that limit Assembly members to three, two-year terms. "Every day that I was minority leader was a day that someone else wasn't minority leader." With the clock ticking off an equal number of minutes for everyone.

Johnson also complained that minority status means Republican ideas are often co-opted by the majority, a practice few Democrats deny. "It happens routinely," he said. "If you have a decent idea, Democrats will steal it instead of supporting it." Democrats shrug this off as an expected consequence of majority rule.

Minority status is frustrating, Johnson and others insist, and helps create feuds and fractures within the GOP caucus. Because they have few outlets for their energies and frustrations within the Assembly at large, Republicans tend to vent them on each other. "It's like going home from a frustrating day at work and kicking the dog or yelling at your wife," said Johnson.

But Assembly Republicans have been in the minority since the brief period in 1969 and 1970 when former GOP Assemblyman Bob Monagan served as speaker. For many of those years, they operated effectively. And although minority status has contributed to their decline, other factors have been at work as well. Internal feuding, for instance. Some of these feuds centered on clashes over ideology. But many others seemed to be more personal, growing out of slights, turf wars and contrasting styles.

"They've been lost in their factional fights for more than two years," said one Capitol insider. "There's no 'there' there, no way to talk about coalitions if factions are only united over personalities and unprepared to execute ideological and governmental tactics. They can't have any impact."

Johnson and Jones both downplayed the feuds, but neither denied that they exist. Both lawmakers insisted that the feuds do not involve ideology; nearly all members of the caucus are conservatives, they said.

But over the past decade, many observers have noticed that, among some of the more ideologicially rigid members, being Republican wasn't good enough. One had to be the proper kind of Republican. These ideologically rigid conservatives came to Sacramento in the late 1970s and early 1980s in the wake of Proposition 13. Known derisively as "cavemen," they were militant Young Turks when they arrived in Sacramento, unwilling to be a minority party that got along and went along with majority Democrats.

The hard-cores were far more confrontational than their Republican predecessors. For the most part, they cut their political teeth as Young Republicans. They were outsiders on college campuses dominated by anti-Vietnam War politics. As a result, winning and being on top became their primary goal. They found a rallying point in the anti-tax movement championed by Howard Jarvis and in the candidacy — and later, the presidency — of Ronald Reagan. They were agitators seeking to upset the legislative status quo; to bash government, to embarrass it and to reduce its size at every opportunity.

Their theme was a theme for its time — a time when property taxes had soared to such heights that elderly people and those on fixed incomes feared losing their homes because they could not afford the tax bill; a time when the state, under former Democratic Governor Jerry Brown, hoarded huge general-fund surpluses and seemed to lavish money on new agencies, new bureaucracies, new programs; a time when the Legislature seemed unwilling or incapable of reforming a tax system seriously out of whack.

"They had a legitimate theme," a Democratic legislator said of Republicans. "They had a suspicion of centralized government, a resistance to taxation and a preference for individual rights."

Emboldened by the Reagan agenda and prospering when many of their more-moderate GOP adversaries left the Assembly, the hard-cores assumed control of the caucus, electing Pat Nolan minority leader in 1984. When Nolan stepped down in 1989 (see profile, page 454), Johnson took his place.

Nolan was a wheeler-dealer, and one of the first deals he made was with Speaker Willie Brown. In exchange for helping Brown maintain his speakership, Nolan enjoyed unprecedented power inside own his caucus — everything from dispensing office space and committee assignments to allocation of staff. It was a deal not extended to Johnson after Nolan resigned, mostly because Brown and Johnson do not get along and because Johnson is no wheeler-dealer.

Nolan's internal clout enabled him to unify the caucus. Although in the minority, Nolan claims that Republicans were able to influence legislation, especially fiscal bills like the budget, which required a two-thirds vote to pass. They worked hand-in-hand with a conservative governor — George Deukmejian — who would veto bills opposed by most Assembly Republicans. And they published what they called an "agenda of opportunity" — legislation on, among other matters, budgetary reform, criminal justice and housing — much of which was enacted into law.

"On many occasions," Nolan said recently, "we became pivotal in policy decisions. We forced positive positions in bills because of agreements with Deukmejian to veto them. We didn't fight over petty things but over the broad issues like taxation, the death penalty and government regulation."

But Nolan had another agenda in mind, one that didn't have much to do with policy, sources insist: Republican control of the Assembly. And his style was confrontational. According to several sources, once he became minority leader, Nolan began to reshape caucus staff, getting rid of policy-minded consultants and replacing them with those more in tune with Nolan's political agenda. Policy took a back seat, much to the consternation of more policy-minded Republicans.

"He came in to kick butt," said a former Republican staffer of Nolan.

"One group is comfortable saying conservative things and never disturbing the status quo," Nolan said recently. "I didn't give up my law practice to be a voice in the wilderness. I came here to make government more conservative ... and if a Republican isn't willing to be confrontational, he's not serving the party or the state."

With this in mind, Nolan and those around him also sought to reshape the caucus itself — in the hard-core image. To accomplish this, in 1986 they began

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meddling in Republican primaries "to purify the caucus," in the words of one former member. The hard-cores made their presence felt in seven primaries where Republican incumbents were leaving the Assembly to run for other offices. In five of them, they left bad feelings and controversy in their wake:

- In the 3rd District, those close to Nolan — most of them from Southern California — poured over $100,000 into the campaign of Northern California attorney Chris Chandler. That angered GOP Assemblyman Stan Statham, who represented the neighboring 1st District and whose district aide was one of Chandler's primary opponents. Statham, a moderate, was considered out of step with the hard-cores. Chandler won, but Statham never forgot.
- In the 8th District, "Nolanistas" gave $120,000 to rancher Martin McClure, who ran a bruising campaign against a moderate Santa Rosa businesswoman named Bev Hansen. Hansen won. After her primary victory, Nolan closed ranks behind Hansen in the general election, which she won.
- In the 20th District, Nolanistas gave $150,000 to Bill Duplissea. Duplissea had the endorsement of outgoing incumbent Bob Naylor, but his opponent was backed by local party officials. Duplissea won the primary and the general election, but lost the district two years later to Democrat Ted Lempert.
- In the 22nd District, the hard-cores ran Henry Olsen, a legislative aide close to a Nolan lieutenant, Assemblyman John Lewis. Olsen, who spent most of his time in Sacramento, had only a tenuous link with the district. And although the district was heavily Republican, Lewis and others lavished $164,000 on Olsen's effort to defeat a local businessman named Chuck Quackenbush. Quackenbush won both the primary and the general elections.
- In the 33rd District, the hard-cores pulled a last-minute switch. After announcing support in the primary for Kern County Supervisor Trice Harvey, they dumped $130,000 into the campaign of Harvey's opponent, much of the money paying for last-minute mailers that trashed Harvey. Harvey won the primary by 300 votes, then survived a tough general election where Democrats gleefully cited Republican hit pieces against one of their own.

In addition to these races, Republicans began to play a new kind of hardball with Democrats in the general elections. Deal or no deal with Willie Brown, the Nolanistas bashed the speaker time and again, pinning Democratic candidates to Brown and his flamboyant lifestyle. This didn't much bother members of the caucus.

But they were bothered by another Republican campaign tactic, a seamy tactic that embarrassed and angered many in the caucus. In the 53rd District, Republicans sent out an eleventh-hour letter accusing incumbent Democrat Dick Floyd of "giving into the powerful underworld drug industry" and all but pushing district children into the arms of drug dealers. The letter was printed on what was purported to be White House stationery, and it was signed by President Ronald Reagan. The White House, however, never approved the letter, nor did Reagan sign it or agree to sign it. Lewis, who is now in the state Senate, was eventually convicted of forgery for signing Reagan's name but the conviction was overturned on appeal because the action did not meet the technical definition of forgery. The Reagan incident, which received wide publicity, created another schism inside the caucus as many Assembly Republicans worried that leadership, in its zealous quest to elect more hard-cores, had adopted an ends-justify-the-means philosophy that would ultimately backfire on the party.

Meanwhile, Nolan was fueling all this campaign activity by emulating the Democrats' fund-raising techniques — cozying up to and putting the squeeze on special interests for campaign cash. Nolan's tenure as minority leader came to an abrupt end in 1988 after his name became linked with an FBI investigation over influence-peddling in the Capitol. Although never charged with a crime, he resigned as minority leader after the 1988 elections, due in part to the investigation. Johnson replaced him.

Prior to Nolan's resignation, several other incidents helped widen schisms inside the caucus. Early in 1988 dissident Democrats known as the "Gang of Five" attempted to topple Willie Brown's speakership (see "A crumbling speakership?" *CJ*, April 1988) by asking Republicans to vote for one of the gang as speaker. Some Republicans wanted to seize the chance to dump Brown, figuring they could get a better deal from the gang. Others, like Cathie Wright and Gerald Felando, remained loyal to Brown. Still others wanted to entice gang members to vote for minority leader Nolan. Nolan himself refused to help the gang, thus alienating some of the more militant members of his own caucus.

And then there were the 1988, 1990 and 1991 elections. In 1988 several members of the caucus backed Gerald Felando's primary opponent, bashing the incumbent over his relationship with Speaker Brown. Also, three caucus incumbents lost their re-elections — Paul Zeltner, Wayne Grisham and Bill Duplissea. Two years later, three more incumbents fell by the wayside — Jeff Marston, Sunny Mojonnier and Curt Pringle. And earlier this year, in a special election in Sacramento-area 5th District, Johnson and other caucus leaders supported B.T. Collins, thus angering freshman David Knowles from the neighboring 7th District. Knowles, a fundamentalist Christian, was supporting fellow fundamentalist Barbara Alby in her primary contest with avowed atheist Collins. Collins defeated Alby, then won a run-off election in mid September.

These election results further divided the caucus.

In addition, many members felt that hard-line confrontational politics just weren't productive anymore. The hard-cores had come into the Assembly believing that government itself was the problem. It was a theme that played well in the late 1970s, and during the Reagan presidency. But it began to lose its vitality as the 1980s drew to a close and California faced some monumental problems. The economy grew sluggish. Schools were overcrowded. Highways and bridges were crumbling. There was too much smog, too little water. Government needed to be a partner in solutions.

Said one lawmaker: "[The hard-core conservatives'] posture had come to mean 'no new taxes, ever.' It had come to mean that the only way a budget can be balanced is by ... cutting something."

At the same time, the Republican Party at large seemed to split over hard-core conservatism itself, a split reflected in the Assembly caucus. Although still calling themselves "conservatives," more moderate Republicans, led by Governor Wilson, nonetheless accept the notion that government has a role in solving problems. Nor are they as viru-

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lently confrontational as the hard-cores and, like Wilson, seem to want to cooperate with Democrats to solve problems.

All these rifts and feuds matured during the budget crisis, and the caucus broke into open warfare. Some hard-cores rallied around Johnson, joined by a few moderates — notably Bev Hansen and Carol Bentley — personally loyal to the minority leader. Other hard-cores, like Nolan Frizzelle, joined with ambitious younger members like Woodruff, Quackenbush, Tom Mays and the disgruntled Knowles to plot against Johnson. Long-time Johnson enemies like Wright and Pelando looked for any alternative. In the middle of all this, moderates like Bill Jones sought to end the confrontational attitude that hampered the caucus' ability to be a meaningful player in the legislative process. Stirred into this cauldron was pressure from Pete Wilson to produce enough votes to pass the budget and its attendant trailer bills. And pressure from Wilson for a less-obstreperous leadership.

Out of the cauldron came change.

Jones has said that the best thing he can do to repair the elephant is to get a fair reapportionment for his members. Jones and Johnson insist the entire caucus is in lock-step over the issue, wanting a redistricting plan that helps the party rather than individual incumbents at the expense of the party. At this writing, no reapportionment plan acceptable to Wilson or Jones had emerged from the Democratic-controlled process. And there was evidence that Jones and Johnson may have been whistling past the graveyard when insisting that all factions had agreed on a reapportionment strategy. Writing in the September 19th *Sacramento Bee*, columnist Dan Walters said that hard-cores have joined forces with Speaker Brown and Democrats to benefit themselves at the expense of Wilson and the moderates. Thus, the in-fighting continues apace.

Regardless of the reapportionment battle, the elephant still lies in pieces, and Jones' repair job may have to wait for time and attrition to weed out the in-fighters.

And he may need to wait for some new faces. For the bottom line may be that, despite its minority status, despite the feuds and frustrations, the Republican Assembly Caucus doesn't have the smarts to compete with Democrats. The observation most commonly applied to the caucus is that it has a "short bench." There are a few notable exceptions — Bill Baker, minority leader Jones, veteran Bill Lancaster, Hansen, Nolan — but for the most part, the GOP caucus is, as characterized by one Republican member, just not very talented.

What follows are mini-profiles of each of the caucus' 31 members. Not included are B.T. Collins and Mickey Conroy, elected on September 17th from the 5th and 67th districts, respectively. Collins, recruited as a candidate by Pete Wilson, is regarded as a moderate; Conroy is a hard-core conservative in the Gil Ferguson mold.

BALLOT FRONT

A roundup of statewide initiative proposals. All statutes require 384,973 valid signatures; constitutional amendments require 615,958. In parentheses is the deadline for sponsors to submit signatures to county clerks, and the issue of California Journal that contains a full explanation of each measure. The full texts of all initiatives may be obtained from the Secretary of State's election division, 1230 J Street, Sacramento CA 95814.

New in circulation:

CAMPAIGN FUNDING. CONTRIBUTION LIMITS — an initiative statute, sponsored by Republican Assemblyman Ross Johnson of Fullerton, that limits contributions to candidates for public office to $1000 for a person, $2500 for a political committee and $5000 for a political party or "broad-based political committee" during specified periods. It also bans transfers of funds between candidates and candidate-controlled committees and prohibits using funds donated for a campaign for any other purpose without donor permission. It also prohibits candidates from receiving public campaign funds. (January 13, 1992)

INITIATIVE. REFERENDUM. CITY, CITY AND COUNTY CHARTER — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Richard Gann of Folsom, that authorizes adoption of non-binding advisory measures by initiative and requires voter approval or a three-fourths majority of each legislative house to pass statutes affecting procedures for circulating or qualifying initiative or referendum procedures. It also decreases the number of signatures required to amend city and county charters by permitting a vote when the petition is signed by 15 percent of registered voters who cast votes in the previous gubernatorial election for city measures; 10 percent for city and county measures. (February 7, 1992)

Continuing in circulation:

LIMITATION UPON GOVERNMENT ACTIONS AND SERVICE IN GOVERNMENT — an initiative consstitutional amendment, sponsored by Robert Lochridge of Redwood City and Eric Harlow of Mountain View. (September 19th, June 1991 *CJ*)

INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM PROCESS — an initiative constitutional amendment and statute, sponsored by Richard Gann of Folsom. (September 30th, June 1991 *CJ*)

HEALTH CARE — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Stephen Schear of Oakland. (October 31st, July 1991 *CJ*)

GAMING COMMISSION. SPORTS WAGERING. LOTTERY GAMES — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Democratic Assemblyman Dick Floyd of Gardena. (November 4th, July 1991 *CJ*)

LEGAL PRACTICES AND SERVICES — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Ken Steenolsen of Belmont Shores and Lennis Holm of Fallbrook. (November 15th, August 1991 *CJ*)

VACATIONS, WORKERS — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Richard Such of Palo Alto. (December 6th, August 1991 *CJ*)

FORESTRY PRACTICES — an initiative statute, sponsored by Barry Fadem of San Francisco. (December 22nd, September 1991 *CJ*)

CIVIL RIGHTS. DISCRIMINATORY CONDUCT. HOMOSEXUALITY. BISEXUALITY — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Louis Sheldon of Anaheim, Thomas Kwong Jr. of Sacramento, Frederick Price of Los Angeles, and Larstella Parker of Los Angeles. (December 23rd, September 1991 *CJ*)

RECALL OF GOVERNOR WILSON — a petition to recall Governor Pete Wilson, sponsored by Deborah Murray and Teresa Squier of Sacramento, Herbert Redlack of Carmichael, Sharon Moad of Fair Oaks and Corinne Lavorico of Woodland. (January 16th, September 1991 *CJ*)

Source: Secretary of State

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Andal

Allen

DEAN ANDAL
26th District, Stockton
Small businessman ***Elected 1991***

Andal won this seat in a special election to succeed Democrat Pat Johnston, who had been elected to the state Senate in another special election in January. Ironically, both Andal and Johnston defeated the same opponent — Democrat Patti Garamendi. The fact that voters in the San Joaquin Valley were weary of Garamendi probably helped Andal, whose long-term vote-getting ability is still suspect in what should be a Democratic district. Andal arrived in Sacramento with a reputation as a conservative with deep religious convictions, and in this year's budget crisis, he bucked his party's governor by voting against all proposals to raise revenues. Relaxed, affable and considered bright, Andal is sincere, unpretentious, and a hard worker who does his homework. "Realness" is a word often applied to him, but his political survival depends less on his character than on the character of his reapportioned district.

DORIS ALLEN
71st District, Cypress
Small businesswoman ***Elected 1982***

The 55-year-old Allen is regarded as pleasant and spirited but not particularly quick to understand issues, and her on-going feud with fellow Republican Gerald Felando over fish-and-game issues is one of the many fractures plaguing the caucus. Many observers feel her work lacks substance despite her decade-long tenure, although she scored an impressive statewide victory as sponsor of an initiative to ban the use of gill nets by fishermen (Proposition 132, November 1990). Allen attempted to move up to the state Senate in 1991 by running for the seat vacated when John Seymour was appointed to the U.S. Senate but she lost in the primary to John Lewis.

BILL BAKER
15th District, Danville
Government analyst ***Elected 1980***

Acerbic, energetic and hard-working, the 52-year-old Baker is considered the brightest member of the caucus and its resident expert on all things budget, having been a former analyst with the Department of Finance and long-time vice chairman of the Ways and Means Committee. Although one of the Assembly's staunchest anti-tax-and-spend conservatives, Baker's public posturing often belies a willingness to work behind the scenes to solve problems. He can be pragmatic and is an excellent political tactician who will take risks. He is often hamstrung by an acid tongue, however, and is said to be impatient with those who can't keep up with his mental acumen. Because his often-biting comments inflict wounds not easily healed, he is well-respected but not particularly well-liked. Replaced as vice chairman of Ways and Means after Bill Jones became minority leader, Baker reportedly has his eye on a new, friendly-to-Republicans congressional seat carved out of the East Bay.

Baker

Bentley

CAROL BENTLEY
77th District, El Cajon
Legislative aide ***Elected 1988***

Bentley had barely settled into her job as an assemblywoman in 1989 when she ran in a special election for the state Senate, a race she might very well have won had not the campaign turned on the pro-choice stance of her Democratic opponent — Lucy Killea. When Killea, a Catholic, was refused communion by the then-archbishop of San Diego, the national spotlight focused on the election. Pro-choice activists rallied to Killea, infusing her campaign with an energy that swamped Bentley. Now in her second Assembly term, the 46-year-old Bentley is regarded as a Pollyana with a hard edge. For instance, while arguing against passage of a gay rights bill, she wondered whether society had gone too far in passing anti-discrimination laws and ought to cut back because they were bad for business. But Bentley also has earned praise for her growth as a legislator, including her role in helping to craft a highly technical bill on trial-court funding. Soft-spoken, gracious and a hard worker who listens to all sides of an issue before making up her mind, Bentley is building a reputation as a problem-solver willing to rise above ideological grandstanding. Although a member of Ross Johnson's leadership team, she went her own way during the budget crisis, voting for 22 of the 27-bill package, including some of the tax increase bills.

PAULA BOLAND
38th District, Northridge
Real estate broker ***Elected 1990***

Boland, 52, has limited government experience and has yet to make much of a ripple on the Capitol pond. A long-time GOP activist around Los Angeles and an anti-abortion conservative, she was president of the Granada Hills Chamber of Commerce and served on the Los Angeles County Local Agency Formation Commission (LAFCO) before winning a rugged primary to succeed Republican Marian LaFollette. According to many observers, Boland has yet to learn that, unlike in local government, members are not expected to speak on every bill before the house. Solidly pro-business, she voted against the budget, and against the snack and income tax hikes. She did vote for an increase in the liquor tax, however.

JIM BRULTE
65th District, Ontario
Legislative and aide ***Elected 1990***

Although only 35, Brulte already has compiled a long resume of government jobs, having served on the staffs of U.S. Senator S.I. Hayakawa, the GOP National Committee, the Department of Defense, Vice President George Bush and former Assemblyman Charles Bader (the man he replaced). As a result, he is no stranger to the give-and-take of political life and, although a freshman, has emerged as one of the caucus' brighter lights. Imposing at a hefty 6'4, Brulte is regarded as friendly and easy to work with. Observers say he has displayed a good grasp of issues but

Boland

Brulte

tends to talk a more moderate line than he votes, making his ideology difficult to peg. For example, he voted against the budget, and against most fee and tax increases. Some Capitol insiders think he has the ability to be a substantive force within the caucus if he will work harder than he has to date, and if he can get over a serious bout of Potomac fever contracted during his stint in Washington. Sources say he wants to take a shot at Congress after reapportionment.

CHRIS CHANDLER
3rd District, Yuba City
Attorney ***Elected 1986***

Regarded as a lawmaker with high integrity, Chandler refused to accept honoraria before they were banned. He also requested to be removed from the highly juiced Insurance Committee in favor of a slot on the relatively low-profile Local Government Committee because the switch would benefit his

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district. As a legislator, Chandler, 40, is conservative but not ideologically rigid, which makes him approachable on issues. He voted "no" on the budget, however, and on the more critical fee and tax increases. He has a quiet personality that some say tends to make him invisible, although he can be helpful behind the scenes — if one can engage his interest. He was a member of Ross Johnson's leadership team, serving as a floor whip — a post he lost when Bill Jones took over.

Chandler

Felando

GERALD FELANDO
51st District, San Pedro
Dentist **Elected 1978**

Complex, pugnacious, gruff, volatile, intimidating, occasionally rude, the curmudgeon uncle that everyone fears. Yet underneath the snarls and volcanic exterior, Capitol sources insist, exists a compassionate man of solid integrity and independent thought whose personality has been tempered by a bout with cancer. A loner within the caucus, the 57-year-old Felando is said to be a pragmatic, straightforward negotiator who sometimes shoots from the hip but usually tries to solve problems. Close to Speaker Willie Brown, he can be counted on to often vote with Democrats on critical issues — a practice that can infuriate his Republican colleagues. He is the center of two on-going feuds, one with Doris Allen over fish-and-game issues and another with Richard Mountjoy who supported Felando's primary opponent a few years back — Duane Dana III. His main issue areas involve health care and fish and game, and he proved a solid "Wilson" vote on the budget.

GIL FERGUSON
70th District, Balboa Island
Career Marine Corps officer **Elected 1984**

The Assembly's most rigidly extreme conservative, the 68-year-old ex-Marine launched his career in the early 1980s by bashing Democrat Tom Hayden. Since then, he hasn't become much more imaginative. Emotional and narrow-minded, Ferguson views the world in absolutes that probably solidified in his mind somewhere back in another millennium. For instance, a few years ago he waged a persistent — and lonely — battle to defeat resolutions atoning for the internment of Japanese-Americans during World War II. His tendency to personalize debate and to punctuate it with hostile rheto

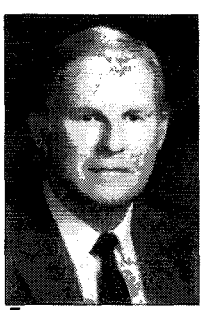
Ferguson

Filante

ric alienates colleagues on both sides of the aisle, thus his limited effectiveness as a lawmaker. He will occasionally perk up on issues where he has some grounding, such as veterans' affairs and housing. Otherwise, he spends little time on the grunt work of making laws. Ferguson devotes much of his energy to raising money for conservative causes and can be effective at mobilizing right-wing groups.

WILLIAM FILANTE
9th District, Greenbrae
Ophthalmologist **Elected 1978**

The Assembly's resident physician, the 61-year-old Filante represents a Democratic-leaning district that stretches across Marin and southern Sonoma counties. As such, he is something of a Republican maverick and much more moderate than the caucus. Filante protects an often shaky electoral base by working hard, both in the Capitol and in his district. He is regarded as knowledgeable on health and water issues, is well-prepared and approachable. He also has showed courage; for example, he bucked the caucus leadership on budget matters and was the only Republican to speak on behalf of AB 101 — the anti-gay discrimination bill. Most sources consider him a problem-solver. His downside seems to be an out-sized ego. Colleagues say he often reminds them that he is a doctor, tends to lecture rather than discuss and can be self-righteous to the point that his personality gets in the way of his effectiveness.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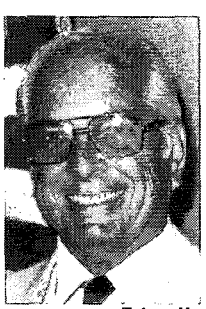
Frizzelle

BOB FRAZEE
74th District, Carlsbad
Small businessman **Elected 1978**

A former mayor of Carlsbad, Frazee came to Sacramento in the wake of Proposition 13. But the 63-year-old florist is no rigid, fire-breathing conservative ideologue. Relaxed, moderate and gentlemanly, Frazee is well-respected for his sensitivity and open-minded approach to resolving disputes. One measure of his respect, according to one Capitol source, is the fact that Frazee is asked to be on more conference committees than any other member. Frazee tried to be a bridge between "cavemen" conservatives and the rest of the Capitol world, but his moderate views and lack of aggressiveness held him back. He might emerge as more of a player in a less ideologically driven caucus. Frazee did not cast one negative vote on the 27-bill budget package.

NOLAN FRIZZELLE
69th District, Fountain Valley
Optometrist **Elected 1980**

Although a hard-line conservative, Frizzelle, 69, lacks the acerbic smarts of a Bill Baker and the visceral in-fighting ability of a Pat Nolan. Nor is he as hostile as a Gil Ferguson or as hard-working as a Tom McClintock. Unlike many of his "caveman" colleagues, Frizzelle was a grass-roots activist rather than a legislative staffer before running for office. Observers consider him a nice guy who wants to be well-liked, a good listener who will occasionally cough up a vote for Democrats. On the floor, he has a penchant for commenting on nearly every controversial bill, whether he understands the issue or not, and his speeches often ramble off-point, making him seem befuddled. For instance, on the issue of Japanese internment during World War II, Frizzelle seemed to have difficulty understanding that the interned were American citizens — not enemy aliens. He ran for John Seymour's old state Senate seat this year but was defeated in the primary by fellow Republican John Lewis. Although a caveman, Frizzelle has joined Bill Jones' new leadership team as vice-chairman of the caucus.

Hansen

Harvey

BEV HANSEN
8th District, Santa Rosa
Legislative aide **Elected 1986**

Hansen is one of the most universally popular members of the Legislature, although her career suffered something of a setback when former minority leader Ross Johnson was deposed this summer. Hansen had been Johnson's caucus chairwoman. Although she disagreed with Johnson over many policy matters and bucked him to vote for the budget, the 47-year-old wine-country lawmaker remained personally loyal to Johnson to the bitter end, refusing invitations to supplant

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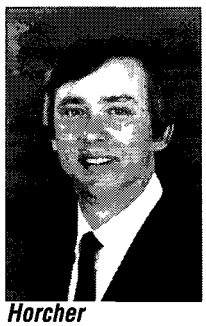
him as minority leader. That she went on Johnson's team in the first place despite her moderate views caused some to question Hansen's philosophical grounding and political judgment. Others, however, saw her role on the Johnson team as a sign of loyalty to someone who had been helpful early in her career. Hansen saw it as a chance to become more of a player and to add some leavening to the hard crust of Johnson's conservatism. Bubbly, hard-working, outgoing and friendly, Hansen is still regarded as one of the most capable members of the caucus. A down-to-earth survivor who came to Sacramento after first defeating a Republican backed by the then-GOP leadership and then a heavily financed Democrat, she may yet emerge in another leadership role.

TRICE HARVEY
33rd District, Bakersfield
Businessman ***Elected 1986***

"Dumb like a fox" is Trice Harvey, say Capitol insiders. An engaging "country boy" wit who doesn't take himself too seriously, Harvey turned out to be a key player in the leadership squabbles. Last May, the 55-year-old Kern County lawmaker, who had been a Ross Johnson detractor, apparently was prepared to support Paul Woodruff's bid to oust Johnson. But he switched at the last minute, and his change of heart enabled Johnson to survive. Harvey was immediately voted to the Assembly Rules Committee — a coincidence, he insisted at the time — but never took the seat. Seems the occupant, Cathie Wright, refused to resign and Speaker Brown backed Wright. In July, Harvey switched again, casting a critical vote to dump Johnson and eventually backing Bill Jones. An ardent supporter of agricultural and oil interests as befits his district, Harvey is a survivor who emerged from tough internecine party warfare in and around Bakersfield. In his first race for the Assembly in 1986, Harvey was initially backed by then-minority leader Pat Nolan in the Republican primary. But only days before the election, Nolan poured money and energy into the race — on behalf of Harvey's GOP opponent. Harvey won anyway, and another feud erupted within the caucus, one that insiders say has long-since been patched. Despite his support for Jones in the recent leadership coup, Harvey sided with hard-line conservatives during the budget fight, voting against the budget and against most revenue-enhancing bills. However, like many members with local-government experience, he can be a problem-solver when interested in an issue.

PAUL HORCHER
52nd District, Diamond Bar
Attorney ***Elected 1990***

For someone who reportedly doesn't like to operate in a pressure-cooker, the 37-year-old Horcher has found himself more often than not under the gun during his fresh



Horcher

Hunter

man term. A moderate by nature, Horcher won his 1990 GOP primary by the slimmest of margins — a fact that hard-core conservatives pound into him at every opportunity with threats about challenging him in the 1992 primary. Still, he broke with caucus leadership to cast the 54th vote on this year's budget, although he tried to soften that action by voting against many of the tax hikes and fee increases. And in the recent leadership fight, Horcher cast one of the deciding votes for new leader Bill Jones after both sides spent a lot of time yelling at him. Pro-choice and something of an environmentalist, Horcher is shy, thoughtful, bright and conscientious. He rarely speaks up on the floor or in committee, but when he does speak — like his floor comments on the role lawyers play in the workers-compensation scheme — he doesn't pull punches.

TRICIA HUNTER
76th District, Bonita
Nurse ***Elected 1989***

Hunter came to Sacramento after a bruising, nationally publicized primary that turned into a referendum on pro-choice among Republicans (a surgical nurse, Hunter is pro-choice). Hunter is said to have a difficult time in her own caucus because of her pro-choice stance and has tried to ingratiate herself with hard-liners by becoming a fire-breathing conservative on other issues, especially those affecting business. Still, she owes much to Governor Wilson's support in San Diego and voted for all but two pieces of the 27-bill budget package ("no" on the liquor tax and an abstention on Proposition 98 funding). Although she is hard-working, honest and aggressive, Hunter also is regarded as abrasive, with an inflated view of her own capabilities. On the other hand, Hunter, 45, is basically a freshman. Her intentions are good, say observers, but she could use a mentor who knows the process — and believes in it.

ROSS JOHNSON
64th District, Brea
Attorney ***Elected 1978***

Complex and enigmatic, former minority leader Ross Johnson seems to be two people: One-on-one or in a social gathering, he can be bright, humorous and friendly, but in a legislative setting, the 51-year-old lawmaker can be intense, confrontational, sarcastic and hostile. As minority leader, his hard-core, conservative ideology hampered his ability to engage in problem-solving. For instance, during the recent effort to solve the $14-billion budget deficit, Governor Wilson and Speaker Willie Brown had to work around a frustrated Johnson, peeling off enough members of the GOP caucus to eke out the votes needed to solve the crisis. Johnson himself voted against the budget, and against all but one fee or tax increase (the exception: community college fees). Passionate about his beliefs, Johnson nonetheless tolerated diverse views among his leadership team; for instance, Bev Hansen and Carol Bentley both voted for the budget, then submitted resignations that Johnson refused to accept. Over the past year Johnson put much of his energy and effort into defending Proposition 73 — his successful campaign-reform measure under attack in the courts. As a result, he devoted less and less time to the hand-holding and brow-soothing often required of a leader — a job that many observers say he was ill-suited for anyway. Johnson was elected minority leader in 1988 after Pat Nolan ran into legal difficulties related to FBI sting operations and was considered Nolan's hand-picked successor. When deposed in July by Bill Jones, Johnson claimed he never wanted to be minority leader in the first place and was glad to be rid it.

Johnson

Jones

BILL JONES
32nd District, Fresno
Rancher, businessman ***Elected 1982***

Prior to his emergence as minority leader this summer, the 41-year-old Jones was not considered someone who made things happen; he was thought of as someone who watched things happen. In fact, many observers thought Jones was not long for the Assembly. Earlier this year he had been considered for a high post in the U.S. Department of Agriculture, and Republican activists in his district urged him to seek a state Senate seat or a spot in Congress. But long-frustrated that his caucus seemed dead in the water and emboldened by a nearly successful spring coup against Ross Johnson led by sophomore Paul Woodruff, Jones finally put together the votes necessary to depose Johnson. Courteous, low-key, bright, savvy, articulate, a straight-shooter with strong integrity, Jones' emergence signalled a major change of direction for the caucus away from nay-saying and

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toward cooperative problem-solving. He also vowed to energize the caucus by bringing younger members into his leadership team, naming freshman David Knowles and Tom Mays as floor whips and Woodruff as caucus chairman. Jones, who leads by example, was one of only two Republicans to vote for every measure in the 27-bill package (Dave Kelley was the other). Jones has made reapportionment his main focus as minority leader, and how long he remains GOP honcho will depend on how Republicans fare.

DAVE KELLEY
73rd District, Hemet
Farmer ***Elected 1978***

Conscientious, decent and hard-working, Kelley at 62 is conservative but not rigidly ideological. Observers consider him to have a pragmatic view of lawmaking, which makes him approachable as a problem-solver, and Democrats say they can coax a vote out of him because he listens and is thoughtful. His main area of interest is agriculture. During the recent budget fight, he bucked hard-liners in his own caucus and did so without grandstanding or fanfare. He joined Bill Jones to vote "aye" on all 27 bills in the budget package. Not a leader, Kelley travels his own road, sources say, but takes nobody with him.

Kelley

Knowles

DAVID KNOWLES
7th District, Cameron Park
Mortgage banker ***Elected 1990***

Knowles, who defeated seven-term incumbent Democrat Norm Waters in 1990, is an extreme conservative who brings a fundamentalist Christian agenda to Sacramento. During his campaign, for instance, he said he saw nothing wrong with an anti-abortion activist driving a truck through the front door of a family planning clinic. And during a floor debate over an anti-gay discrimination bill, Knowles used such explicit language to describe what he perceived as gay sexual practices that fellow Republican Tom McClintock — among others — publicly admonished him. Knowles, who educates his own children at home, also fought against a resolution declaring education the cornerstone of democracy. Nor do many in the Capitol trust Knowles after an incident this summer when he tried to remove a bill from the Public Safety Committee after having struck a different deal with committee chairman John Burton. Sources say Knowles views the world in absolutes, branding those who disagree with him as immoral. Others insist he can be friendly one-on-one, but they are always aware that his friendliness can turn sour if one crosses his ideology. He voted "no" on the budget, and on every tax and fee increase. Knowles is now minority whip after having cast one of the deciding votes that elected Bill Jones minority leader. Reportedly, Knowles voted for Jones because Ross Johnson backed B.T. Collins for a vacant Assembly seat over another fundamentalist Christian candidate supported by Knowles.

BILL LANCASTER
62nd District, Covina
Legislative aide ***Elected 1972***

One of the most respected members of his caucus, the 60-year-old Lancaster is a lawmaker with solid integrity and a no-nonsense approach to his job. Primarily interested in local-government and transportation, he can be a problem solver — when he's engaged in an issue. Unfortunately, that doesn't seem to be the case lately. A former member of the Assembly Rules Committee, Lancaster was purged when Pat Nolan be-

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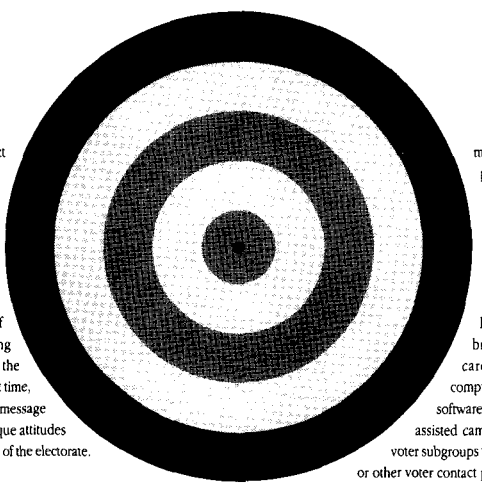

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came minority leader in 1984, and some observers say he has lost interest. Others say he is clearly frustrated by the rigidity and backbiting inside his caucus and may re-engage with a different leadership and different attitude. Bright and articulate, he takes care of district needs, works quietly and effectively behind the scenes if he decides to carry a bill, and seems to be biding his time until retirement or until someone recharges his batteries. He voted against the budget but for some of the more controversial fee increases, including vehicle-license fees and community college and CSU fees.

Lancaster

Mays

TOM MAYS
58th District, Huntington Beach
Corporate planner **Elected 1990**

More moderate than his voting record shows, Mays was driven to the right by peer pressure — he was Bill Baker's seatmate. He voted against the budget, and against increases in income, snack and liquor taxes and vehicle license fees. Smart, pragmatic, hard-working and friendly, Mays was caucus secretary under Ross Johnson but resigned the position early this year and later criticized Johnson's lack of leadership. He has been tapped by Bill Jones to be a floor whip, a role many observers say should help him blossom as a legislator and as a problem-solver. A Republican environmentalist, Mays knows first-hand how localities are impacted by ecological disaster; he was mayor of Huntington Beach during an oil spill. At 37, he is considered one of the caucus' future bright lights.

TOM MCCLINTOCK
36th District, Newbury Park
Legislative aide **Elected 1982**

The word "conservative" doesn't begin to describe this 35-year-old iconoclast. An extreme ideologue, McClintock is razor-sharp and hard-working but so narrow in his no-tax-ever views that he has been reduced to little more than a voice crackling in the wilderness. McClintock is one of the Republicans who just doesn't like government and his agenda consists of privatizing everything from prisons to street-lighting and a voucher system for education. Although few members agree with McClintock, many appreciate his intellectual honesty and the fact that he often reminds the house how fiscal decisions affect the average California family. For a long while, McClintock wanted to be minority leader but could never put together the votes. His last fling at the job surfaced this summer. He was the beneficiary of a small boomlet on the part of conservative Republicans casting about for a rallying point when the caucus ousted Ross Johnson without picking a successor. McClintock lost to Bill Jones, however. McClintock's deepest regret at this point is probably his decision not to run for Congress in 1986 when Bobbie Feidler vacated a seat in McClintock's backyard. McClintock bowed out after Tony Hope (son of comedian Bob) entered the GOP primary. Hope was defeated by Elton Gallegly. No guts, no glory.

RICHARD MOUNTJOY
42nd District, Monrovia
Contractor **Elected 1978**

A bomb-throwing, hard-line conservative, Mountjoy came to Sacramento in the wake of Proposition 13 and seems to have no other agenda but to zing Democrats and to pound on government whenever given the chance. Combative and ideologically entrenched, his floor speeches often ignore the merits of a bill and instead rail against the opposition. Outside the Capitol, Mountjoy, 59, spends much time and energy on using the initiative process to hamstring the Legislature, including co-authorship of Proposition 24 in 1984 (see *CJ*, June 1984). His feud with Gerald Felando is one of several clashes that has fractured the caucus.

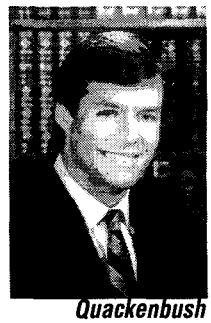
McClintock

Mountjoy

PAT NOLAN
41st District, Glendale
Attorney **Elected 1978**

Nolan, 41, once was one of the brightest lights among Assembly Republicans — whip-smart, affable and very, very conservative; a Prop. 13 baby with a confrontational style and a penchant for in-fighting and intrigue. But when he became minority leader in 1984, Nolan showed that he could be a pragmatic deal-maker willing to set aside hard-core conservatism to solve problems. He struck a deal with Speaker Brown to support Brown as speaker in exchange for total control over Republicans, including GOP committee assignments. This gave him enormous clout inside the caucus, and he was able to unify it. But Nolan's main goal was to create a Republican majority in the lower house, and how he went about it may have greased the caucus' skid. It was Nolan who, in his zeal to craft a GOP majority in the Assembly, adopted an ends-justify-the-means attitude where winning — being on top — was the ultimate goal and scant attention was paid to public policy. It was Nolan who took the caucus heavily into the world of hard-ball special-interest politics, especially over fund raising. It was Nolan's leadership team that signed Ronald Reagan's signature on campaign literature. It was Nolan who helped create fractures within the caucus by recruiting Assembly candidates over the objections of local party officials. To his credit, when his hand-picked candidates were defeated in primaries, he closed ranks behind the winner. But that was back before his fund-raising operation landed him in the middle of an FBI sting operation. Following a disastrous 1988 election season, and following revelations that Nolan's name was linked to federal investigations, he resigned the leadership in favor of Ross Johnson. His problem-solving attitude disappeared with his leadership, and he reverted to the confrontational conservative representing an Orange County district. Nolan spent the recent budget fight voting "no."

Nolan


Quackenbush

CHUCK QUACKENBUSH
22nd District, Cupertino
Businessman **Elected 1986**

Unless he has a major change of heart, this is Quackenbush's last term in the Assembly because the 37-year-old lawmaker is running for the congressional seat being vacated by U.S. Senate candidate Tom Campbell. Ambitious, articulate and pretty, it is easy to dismiss Quackenbush because of his *GQ* looks and cocky attitude. But he has shown a tough, independent streak in the past. Two years ago, as a freshman, he bucked both his caucus and the National Rifle Association to support a ban on assault weapons and has voted for abortion funding. But lately, he seems to have drifted to the right. Observers say Quackenbush has been much more moderate and much more detached from the caucus in the past but has hardened this year — almost, they say, in direct conflict with his own best interests as an assemblyman from the moderate and affluent peninsula area south of San Francisco. For instance, he voted against the budget but for tax hikes on wealthy Californians — many of whom live in the posh sections of his district. His congressional primary promises to be difficult; two of his

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opponents are former Assemblyman Dixon Arnett and San Mateo County Supervisor Tom Huening. As a legislator, Quackenbush is said to be moderately bright but not a particularly deep thinker and not very energetic.

ANDREA SEASTRAND
29th District, Salinas
Teacher ***Elected 1990***

Seastrand is a name long-connected with this Central California coastal district; Andrea's husband, Eric, represented the area from 1982 until his death last year. Andrea Seastrand, 50, is considered friendly and hard-working but little known inside the Capitol. She has never held public office and faces a daunting learning curve but those who know her say she is conscientious about understanding the ins and outs of lawmaking. Deeply religious,

Seastrand

Statham

her political base is fundamentalist Christian and extremely conservative. She was one of six Republicans who sent Governor Wilson a no-taxes-ever letter early in the budget process. Seastrand mostly stuck to her guns, voting against the budget and against all tax hikes and all but two fee increases — both for higher education.

STAN STATHAM
1st District, Chico
News anchor ***Elected 1976***

The 52-year-old Statham has always been regarded as a pragmatic moderate, but sources say he moved to the right this year in an effort to make himself more acceptable to hard-liners. Statham voted a consistent "no" on the budget and its attendant revenue-raising trailer bills and took the lead in opposing an anti-gay discrimination bill. His goal was being elected minority leader, and when grumpy colleagues tried to dump then-leader Ross Johnson in May by rallying around Paul Woodruff, Statham offered himself as a last-minute replacement. His tactic split the vote, thereby allowing Johnson to survive for another two months. Statham still would like to be minority leader but Capitol insiders don't think he has the stomach for hardcore infighting. Some question his judgment, citing his self-promotion as the governor's defender before voting against the governor's budget proposals. On any level, Statham's new-found conservativism doesn't seem very credible inside the Capitol. On some matters, he remains a caucus maverick; he is pro-choice, for example, and is sponsor of a bill to allow local jurisdictions to pass school bond measures by majority vote rather than the two-thirds vote now required by law.

PAUL WOODRUFF
District 61, Redlands
Legislative aide ***Elected 1988***

This past May, sophomore Woodruff nearly pulled off a highly improbable *coup d'caucus*, coming within one vote of dumping Ross Johnson as minority leader. Encouraged by that effort, Woodruff then joined forces with Bill Jones to end Johnson's rancorous tenure as GOP poobah, earning himself the job of caucus chairman. A strong conservative who voted against this year's budget, Woodruff is nonetheless regarded as a problem-solver who is conscientious, hard-working and approachable. Bright, if no blazing intellect, he has thus far displayed good political instincts and, although hard to the right, seems committed to the process of governance. As representative of one of the fastest-growing areas in Southern California, he understands that government has a role in solving the problems created by clogged freeways, overcrowded schools and a deteriorating environment. Still only 31, Woodruff came to Sacramento in 1988 with plenty of political experience; he had been an aide and campaign manager to his predecessor — now-state Senator Bill Leonard. He could go far if his already meteoric success doesn't blind him to the fact that he is still only a sophomore and not yet an expert on everything.

Woodruff

Wright

CATHIE WRIGHT
37th District, Simi Valley
Businesswoman ***Elected 1980***

One of Bill Jones' first acts as minority leader was to replace Bill Baker as vice-chairman of Ways and Means with Cathie Wright — a decision that seemed curious to many observers. Although tenacious and hard working, Wright is regarded as having only a superficial understanding of issues, with limited budget and fiscal experience despite her long tenure in Sacramento. Jones defended the appointment, saying she reads and pays close attention to every bill. (Her budget votes followed the hard-line route: "no" on the budget, "no" on most tax and fee increases.) Wright's appointment was seen by others as a reward for supporting Jones' effort to become minority leader. Nor was it the first time that she surfaced as a key player in GOP leadership brawls. Last May, Johnson tried to replace Wright on the Assembly Rules Committee with Trice Harvey (see Harvey). Wright wouldn't resign, forcing the issue to the Assembly floor where Speaker Brown refused to intervene. Wright remained on Rules. It was not the first time Brown has come to Wright's aid. In 1988 he tried to intervene on her daughter's behalf after her daughter's driving habits caused her license to be suspended. Brown, it is said, looks out for Wright because she refused to go along with other Republicans and endorse a "Gang of Five" Democrat who was trying to dump Brown as speaker in 1988 (see *CJ*, March 1988). As a legislator, Wright, 62, is considered a good author because she employs the water-torture method of vote-counting: She nags people into supporting her bills.

Wyman

PHIL WYMAN
34th District, Tehachapi
Attorney ***Elected 1979***

Most observers express surprise that Wyman seems to have learned so little about the Legislature despite serving in Sacramento for more than a decade. For instance, just before the Legislature's summer recess, Wyman forced members of his own party to vote against Governor Wilson's cherished California Environmental Protection Agency by reviving a Democrat's resolution to kill the proposed agency — when the Democrat (Rusty Areias) was willing to let the resolution die for lack of votes to pass it. Wyman plunged ahead nonetheless, attacking Wilson for good measure; this after voting against the budget and all proposed fee and tax increases. Observers say it was the act of someone befuddled by the process. A conservative religious ideologue, the 46-year-old lawmaker tends to pontificate on issues rather than to debate them, sources say, can be morally self-righteous and unwilling to compromise. He has been known to complain about pork-barrel for Democratic districts, then complain when Democrats vote against a park in his district. No one questions Wyman's integrity, however; he is said to be personally honest and sincere about his beliefs. Caucus vice chairman under Ross Johnson, he was dumped in favor of Nolan Frizzelle when Bill Jones took over.

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Tom Campbell:

A perfect candidate — on paper

By Susan Rasky

If Silicon Valley's computer wizards had tried to program the ideal Republican Senate candidate, it's hard to imagine they could have come closer than Tom Campbell, the 39-year-old Stanford law professor who currently represents them in Congress.

You want smart? He has a law degree from Harvard and a doctorate in economics from the University of Chicago. You want sensitive? He's pro-choice, anti-off-shore oil drilling and author of a dissertation on sex discrimination in the federal government. He's even trying to learn Spanish — from audio tapes that staffers play on the car cassette deck as they shuttle him to campaign appearances.

Gotta have free-market philosophy? Not to worry. Milton Friedman was his college mentor, and Citizens Against Government Waste, the federal-deficit watchdog group, rated him the 12th-mostpenny-pinching member of the House for his votes against "unnecessary spending." And maybe you want high-powered supporters? How about former Secretary of State George Schultz and electronics mogul David Packard as campaign co-chairmen, or a roster of 150 California CEOs who lent their names this spring to a full page *Wall Street Journal* ad on his behalf?

Supreme Court law clerk, White House Fellow, a stint in the Reagan

Continued on page 460

Susan Rasky formerly covered Congress for The New York Times. *Currently she is a visiting professor at the University of California, Berkeley, School of Journalism and writing a book about Congress.*

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Bruce Herschensohn:

A candidate with the "right" ideas

By Tom Waldman

On the day the Soviet coup failed, Bruce Herschensohn spoke to the Republican Women of Leisure World, a retirement community located in Seal Beach. The several hundred elderly women and several elderly men who came to the luncheon applauded the minute he stepped inside the auditorium. They did not need to wait for a formal introduction; Herschensohn's commentaries have been a regular feature on KABC-TV's Eyewitness News and KABC Radio in Los Angeles since 1978. Conservatives have been cheering him from their living rooms for years.

Leaning on the lectern, Herschensohn chatted with his audience for 30 minutes about Gorbachev, Yeltsin, the Baltic republics and how America should respond to changes in the Soviet Union. Though only 58, he appeared as the calm father-figure, reassuring these senior citizens that for now the situation in the Soviet Union "looks very, very promising." He clearly relished the opportunity to interpret breaking, historic events for an audience that had lived through the entire 74 years of Soviet communism.

He did not refer to any written notes. His remarks must have been spontaneously composed at the wheel of his car during the 35-mile drive from KABC's Hollywood studios. A voracious reader of political journals and a close friend and disciple of Richard Nixon, Herschensohn can discuss international affairs for hours.

Halfway through the speech, one

Tom Waldman is a freelance writer from Los Angeles and a frequent contributor to California Journal.

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man turned to a friend and asked, "Is he going to talk about what he stands for?"

Herschensohn had become so engrossed in the Soviet situation that he neglected to mention that he is a candidate for the Republican nomination for the U.S. Senate in 1992. The only clue that this was a political appearance at all was the large "Herschensohn for Senate" banner at the front of the room. During the question-and-answer period, someone asked Herschensohn with complete sincerity if he was running for anything. The candidate quietly responded "the Senate" and called on the next person.

The appearance at Leisure World speaks volumes about Herschensohn. He is much more at ease talking about issues and events than in making stump speeches, and he seems more interested in being a senator than in running for the Senate. He wants to make policy, and if elected, would like eventually to serve on the Foreign Affairs and Armed Services Committees.

But to get to Washington, he has to leap several hurdles; first, to defeat Palo Alto Congressman Tom Campbell in the Republican primary (see story, page 456), and then either Congressman Mel Levine, Congresswoman Barbara Boxer, Lieutenant Governor Leo McCarthy or another Democrat, in November.

The prospect of running for office does not excite Herschensohn anymore today than it did in 1986 when, in spite of his distaste for politics, he finished second to former Congressman Ed Zschau in a field of 13 candidates who entered the GOP primary for the U.S. Senate.

"My sole interest is policy; it always has been," Herschensohn said. "The politicking, the inside stuff, is not something that I enjoy. I don't do well at it unless I have someone guiding me such as Ken Khachigian." (Khachigian, a former political adviser to Governor George Deukmejian, and presidents Nixon and Reagan, is in charge of Herschensohn's 1992 campaign.)

Herschensohn rises at 4 a.m. Monday through Friday to study and write. "I do it because I love to do it," he said.

In 1986 nervous consultants dragged him away from KABC a mere five months before the primary. This year, although free television exposure has its advantages, Herschensohn left his day job and became a full-time candidate on September 30th. Already he has been making two and sometimes three campaign appearances each week in addition to delivering his commentaries. The mad dash from Hollywood to Leisure World and back to KABC studios was not uncommon.

By his own admission, however, Herschensohn has not spent nearly enough time soliciting contributions. His campaign received quite a shock this summer when spending reports covering the first six months of 1991 revealed that Herschensohn had $188,970 in total receipts. Meanwhile, Campbell has out-raised him nearly 10-to-one and has a cool $1,737,503 simmering in his campaign treasury. The huge disparity is in part a consequence of Campbell having served two terms in Congress, where he has immediate access to a swarm of lobbyists and political action committees. He also represents the Silicon Valley and its wealthy high-tech industries.

Still, the reasons for Campbell's huge lead in contributions are largely irrelevant — as even Herschensohn is aware. "I wasn't planning on getting into this race until the autumn," he said, "but Ken Khachigian told me, 'You either do it now or you might as well forget it, because you are going to have to play catch-up for too long.' You can do that for awhile, but not for an entire campaign."

Herschensohn, the current-events junkie, began to take shape as early as grammar school where he penned a history of World War II. Apparently Winston Churchill, who would later write his own multi-volume history, had nothing to fear. "Believe me, it was terribly dull," Herschensohn recalled. His prose has improved with practice.

It was not inevitable that Herschensohn would become politically conservative, however; as a youngster he and his family admired Franklin Delano Roosevelt, both for having created the New Deal and for providing strong leadership during the war. "When he died, it was like the presidency died," Herschensohn recalled.

By the time he graduated from University High School in Los Angeles, Herschensohn had decided to pursue a career in the movies. Already moving to the political right, he would make films that celebrated American values and American power. He had no desire to be either ambiguous or subtle in his work. "I wanted to go into movies because I thought that movies were the greatest influence in the world," he said. "And at the time, they were. Now, TV probably is."

He broke into films as a messenger boy at the old RKO Studios, served in the United States Air Force during the Korean War (1951-52), and then returned to RKO, where he was promoted to the art department. After working as a film editor and director for General Dynamics, Herschensohn formed his own production company in 1956. During the next few years he wrote and directed documentaries on the Atlas Missile and NASA for the U.S. Air Force; and, later, "John F. Kennedy: Years of Lightning, Day of Drums." "The strongest speeches against communism were made by John Kennedy," he said.

Herschensohn's emergence as a skillful propagandist coincided with his increasing attraction for conservative causes and candidates. In the 1950s this meant supporting President Dwight D. Eisenhower; in 1964 he backed Barry Goldwater, who was everything a young, enthusiastic member of the right could love. Goldwater's famous line at the San Francisco convention — "Extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice, moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue" — counts as one of Herschensohn's most cherished political memories. "It was very inspiring," he said. Of course, the controversy surrounding that line helped crush Goldwater's candidacy.

In 1968 President Johnson, who defeated Goldwater in a landslide, appointed Herschensohn to the prestigious position of director of motion picture and television services for the United States Information Agency. Obsessed by Vietnam and a growing revolt within his own party, Johnson needed all the friends he could get. "Everyone in the administration knew I was a Goldwater Republican," said Herschensohn, "but in those days the only people loyal to Johnson on foreign policy issues were Goldwater Republicans." Herschensohn stayed with the USIA until 1972 when he resigned to become a deputy special assistant under President Nixon.

Since Nixon's resignation in 1974, it would seem only Pat, Julie and Tricia can match Herschensohn in his devotion to the former president. The two still talk regularly, and Nixon made a rare public appearance in 1986 to speak at a

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fund-raising dinner held on Herschensohn's behalf. Nixon also was the one who taught Herschensohn — an inveterate traveler who has visited more than 90 countries — the basic rules of geo-politics.

"It was his grasp of foreign policy," Herschensohn said of Nixon, 'the way he could take an incident in Mozambique and be able to see it on a global basis, what it would mean to Africa, Europe, Asia and the Western hemisphere."

Of course, Nixon and Henry Kissinger conducted foreign affairs during a time when the United States still had recognizable communist enemies in the Soviet Union and mainland China, with their attendant satellite allies. Detente and rapprochement — policies that brought the superpowers closer together — were nevertheless developed within the larger context of the Cold War. Conservatives such as Herschensohn could criticize Nixon for making friends with Leonid Brezhnev — or traveling to Peking (as it was called in 1972) — without appearing hopelessly out of date.

But that was then; this is now. And the incredible sequence of events since Mikhail Gorbachev assumed power in 1985 has essentially robbed cold warriors of their issue. Thus, Herschensohn has a new line: the certainty of uncertainty.

In his remarks to the Leisure World group, Herschensohn noted several times that the Soviet coup attempt proves "we just don't know" what will happen in the rapidly dissolving Soviet Union — not next year, next month, or even tomorrow. Indeed, Herschensohn was saying the same thing long before Gorbachev was held prisoner in the Crimea. Until the Soviet Union solves the problem of political succession, anything is possible. The post-Gorbachev era could resemble the pre-Gorbachev era; we just don't know. What we do know, added Herschensohn, is that we need to increase defense spending. A potential threat is as dangerous as an actual threat.

Herschensohn also wants to eliminate what he considers to be internal impediments to the smooth and sane conduct of American foreign policy. For instance, he wants to repeal the War Powers Act, passed over Nixon's veto in 1973, which restricts the right of the president to indefinitely commit U.S. troops abroad without congressional approval. Herschensohn says the act is unconstitutional; at the same time, however, he is dismayed that liberal Democrats in Congress have been given an important role in determining the use of American power and prestige.

The traditional distrust of American conservatives for strong, central authority does not extend to international affairs. Herschensohn and other members of the right have never forgiven Congress for reducing assistance to South Vietnam in 1974, one year after the last contingent of American troops had departed, or for prohibiting military aid to the Contras in Nicaragua a decade later.

And he would like a tougher Logan Act, which was originally passed by Congress in 1799 to restrict private citizens from influencing the actions of foreign governments. In the era of Cable News Network, the foreign policy field has become crowded. Political figures and celebrities — most of them, it seems, on the left — have traveled to places such as Baghdad, Damascus or Tripoli during tense times.

"I want a rewriting of the Logan Act to stop people like Ramsey Clark from going to foreign countries when we have a crisis going on and act as though they can deal with a foreign government or foreign citizens," Herschensohn said. He would not say these kinds of actions amount to treason, but he did call them "terribly dangerous."

Herschensohn also has a domestic program: He favors a flat-rate tax, with the rate based upon a balanced budget; random mandatory drug testing of all federal employees; merit pay for teachers; and a "sunset provision" for all federal departments and agencies, meaning they must justify their existence each fiscal year. Those agencies that do not meet the test should either be abolished or have specific programs eliminated.

Like President George Bush, however, Herschensohn would much rather concentrate on foreign policy. He believes voters have the same preference. "They say people have always voted their pocketbooks, but I don't believe it," he said. "Look at the last few presidential elections: Johnson chose not to run again because of Vietnam. Nixon-Humphrey was largely based on foreign policy. Nixon-McGovern, McGovern's theme was 'Come Home America.' The Iranian hostage crisis certainly had an effect in 1980. I think foreign policy generally plays the bigger role."

Herschensohn will get a chance to test his theory next year. Campbell is best known by the public for his pro-choice stance on abortion, free-market economics and opposition to off-shore oil drilling. If the congressman wins, Herschensohn may have understimated the importance of social and economic issues. A Herschensohn victory, however, would seem to indicate that voters are excited by international events. The Persian Gulf War and the historic changes in the Soviet Union have given Herschensohn great material with which to make his case.

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Continued from page 456

Justice Department, director of a major bureau at the Federal Trade Commission and tenure at Stanford, all before he reached the age of 35. The Campbell resume is eye-popping.

Finding the man behind it is more difficult.

"I'm a nerd," he tells audiences at fund-raising events, proudly displaying a suitably inscribed plastic pocket protector — a gift, he says, from an engineer who chatted with him about the semiconductor industry and sensed a kindred spirit.

Ask for a personal anecdote or a revealing encounter, and Campbell staffers will rush to tell you that he lives on junk food and likes to stay up half the night watching grade-C movies on the VCR. Long-time friends or colleagues have trouble doing much better. He is in private much as he is in public, they say — courteous, affable, well organized and tightly controlled.

Invariably they marvel at his mind.

"He's one of the most intellectual people I've ever met," says Bob Naylor, a Sacramento lawyer and former GOP Assembly leader and state party chairman. "He's a superb lawyer and he speaks with depth and authority on countless issues. You can't talk to him without realizing he could be one of the brightest guys ever elected to the Senate."

But in a set of 1992 California Senate races so busy with comings and goings that even the political cognoscenti have trouble keeping all the players straight, Campbell will need to project more than brains and a dazzling resume to get the attention of voters. He is one of at least five candidates from both parties seeking the six-year seat being vacated by Democrat Alan Cranston. His chief opponent in the GOP primary is Bruce Herschensohn, a conservative television commentator in Southern California (see accompanying story). The winner will face a Democrat selected from a field that is likely to include Representative Barbara Boxer of Marin County, Representative Mel Levine of West Los Angeles and Lieutenant Governor Leo McCarthy.

The other Senate race is for the remaining two years of the term Pete Wilson left unfinished when he became governor. Incumbent Republican John Seymour, appointed by Wilson earlier this year, is facing a primary challenge from one of Southern California's most flamboyant conservatives, Congressman William Dannemeyer, and two lesser-known contenders — Harvey Mudd College professor Bill Allen and a retired Southern California dentist, Jim Trinity. The winner of that contest will perhaps face San Francisco's former mayor, Democrat Dianne Feinstein, who in turn may be challenged in the Democratic primary by State Controller Gray Davis. And just to complicate matters, Davis has hinted that he may yet decide to throw his hat into the six-year Senate ring.

Whatever finally happens on the Democratic side, the two GOP primaries promise yet another battle for the soul of the California Republican Party. At first blush, Campbell is an unlikely warrior.

There is an almost quaint formality about him, even in a one-on-one conversation. In all earnestness, he refers to the "dang" deficit or prefaces a thought with a "gosh" or a "golly." No, he says, he never swears, not even at home. Soft-spoken, excruciatingly polite, he answers questions in perfectly punctuated paragraphs, interrupting himself occasionally to inquire if he is going too fast or to apologize for delivering more than the listener cared to know.

"The early criticism was that I was too much a professor, showing three or four sides of every issue instead of what I actually believe," he says.

That may explain his eager embrace of the nerd persona — a stump device to help him seem a little more like the common folk. But he's far from a nerd, and "professorial" seems nearly as unsatisfactory a description. Some who have worked with him in Washington say the gentle demeanor and the academic's penchant for detail belie a very savvy politician and an ambitious, driven man.

He also has an independent streak. Congressional colleagues were aghast in April of 1990 when he was one of only 34 House members to vote against a resolution that stipulated Jerusalem as Israel's capital. Since then he has taken pains to shore up relations with the powerful Jewish community here, and early this year, before announcing his candidacy, he sought out some of its members for advice on how to improve his standing. He was told that the vote had hurt him and advised him to visit Israel. He did, this spring, managing to arrive just as the SCUD missile attacks were in progress. In recent weeks he has pledged support for the $10 billion housing loan guarantee Israel is seeking from the United States.

But Campbell makes no apologies for his voting record. "What I voted for was keeping the Jerusalem issue unresolved pending negotiations," he says. "On the merits I thought it was right and I would vote that way again if I had to."

In the past several months he has also signed on to the ubiquitous Republican "No Tax Pledge," something he had previously refused to do on grounds that some types of consumption taxes, at some point, might be necessary to reduce the budget deficit. "What I now understand is that it will never happen, the money never goes to reduce the deficit," he says. "An editorial writer for the *Wall Street Journal* convinced me that it was an important message and that I should sign it because I never voted for taxes anyway." "There is nothing naive about Tom Campbell," says fellow Republican Congressman David Drier of eastern Los Angeles County. "You don't get tenure at a place like Stanford, you don't defeat an incumbent in a party primary by being naive."

Campbell was elected to Congress in 1988 after ignoring the advice of state party elders who said it would be folly to try to unseat Republican Ernie Konnyu. Chuck Quackenbush, a Republican assemblyman from San Mateo was one of them.

"I remember sitting down with him in 1988 and advising him against taking on an incumbent," says Quackenbush. "He smiled and said 'Thank you for the input.' He's very tough and not afraid of anything. Frankly, I think he's going to win this primary without breaking a sweat."

Campbell has inherited much of his political organization, including campaign consultant Ron Smith, from Ed Zschau, the moderate Republican and Silicon Valley businessman who preceded Konnyu to Congress and nearly beat Cranston in the 1986 Senate race. Tapping into Zschau's fund-raising network and assiduously cultivating well-heeled contributors of his own, Campbell already has raised about $2 million of the $5 million he says he will need for the primary. He is looking at twice again that much for the general election.

"Donors in Silicon Valley understand the notion of start-up," says Smith of the early fund-raising success. But Campbell and his team are well aware

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that it is voter- and donor-rich Southern California that holds the key to any statewide race. Much of the grueling campaign schedule — back-to-back breakfasts, lunches and cocktail receptions on days when he does not have to be in Washington — is designed to get him known in the southern part of the state.

The gatherings are small and the audiences — pre-selected for their proclivities to donate money and support moderate candidates — are generally friendly. Campbell's stump speech varies slightly with the crowd, but basically he emphasizes his conservative economic credentials, notes that he voted against George Bush's compromise budget last year because it didn't cut enough spending, and then segues to education, abortion, and usually civil rights before opening the floor to questions.

Inquisitive members of the audience who ask about budget deficits or line-item vetos or assessments of the current state of the economy are apt to get more than they bargained for by way of response. But Campbell has honed his rhetoric on abortion and civil rights, and when the questions on those topics come, he emits something close to sparks.

"I am the only Republican in the California congressional delegation who voted for the Democrats' civil-rights bill," he tells a group of Los Angeles lawyers and business executives at an early morning breakfast. "It was not a quota bill any more than the president's proposal was a quota bill, and I would urge anybody who would like to pursue it to compare the two."

To a group of Asian-Americans, many of them new to the Republican Party, he talks of Abraham Lincoln. "I supported the civil-rights bill because I oppose discrimination, and that means I have credibility when I speak against quotas," he says. "It's been a long time since our party has been in the lead on civil rights, and I get tired of saying we're the party of Lincoln. I admire Lincoln, but Lincoln was a long time ago."

The budget and civil-rights votes did not sit well with the Bush administration, but one measure of the initial impact of the Campbell campaign is that the talk of a third candidate in the race seems to have ended. In the months following Campbell's March announcement that he would seek the six-year Senate seat, there were constant rumors that national GOP strategists were unhappy with his moderate stands on social issues and were shopping for a more mainstream Republican alternative.

Campbell, who calls himself a "new conservative," argues that he *is* the mainstream, more in tune with the views of California Republicans than Herschensohn and far more likely to hold the center in both parties in a general election. Ask him what distinguishes his blend of ideologies from those of, say, Nelson Rockefeller or Tom Kuchel or even Teddy Roosevelt, and Campbell resists the comparison.

"I'm very much in a 'Who is Tom Campbell?' mode," he says. "I've got to sell me, and a very weak way to sell yourself is to say I'm like someone else." Although his social policy views are much like those of Pete Wilson, he rarely mentions the governor, probably wise politics since Wilson has incurred the wrath of California conservatives for raising taxes to balance the state budget this year.

But then Campbell grew up around politics. The youngest of eight children from a Catholic family in Chicago, his father was a New Dealer who served as a U.S. attorney and was eventually appointed to the federal bench by Franklin Roosevelt.

"I think of my father as a New Deal Democrat, but I'm not sure that in later years he didn't occasionally vote for Everett Dirksen [a former Republican U.S. senator from Illinois]," he grins.

While most of his family remains Democrat, his own association with the party seems to be confined to a vote for George McGovern in 1972. Campbell was elected student body president at the University of Chicago that year, but he says the politics of the Vietnam War that tore apart so many others of his generation were not a major factor in his student life.

"I had a draft deferment the first year, and the second year I came up number 304 in the lottery," he recalls. "I never took part in the protests, I guess I felt if we were going to be in it, we should win. If I had been called I would have served ... on the other hand, I didn't volunteer."

So is he ready to be a crusader now?

"I know my candidacy has as an element, a defining quality for the Republican Party in California," he says, choosing the words carefully. "But I'm a legislative type; I like negotiating, I like seeing other people's arguments. When somebody puts forward the opposite case I can often understand it, and I frequently see people who cannot. Making good public policy with the help of the other party does not turn me off."

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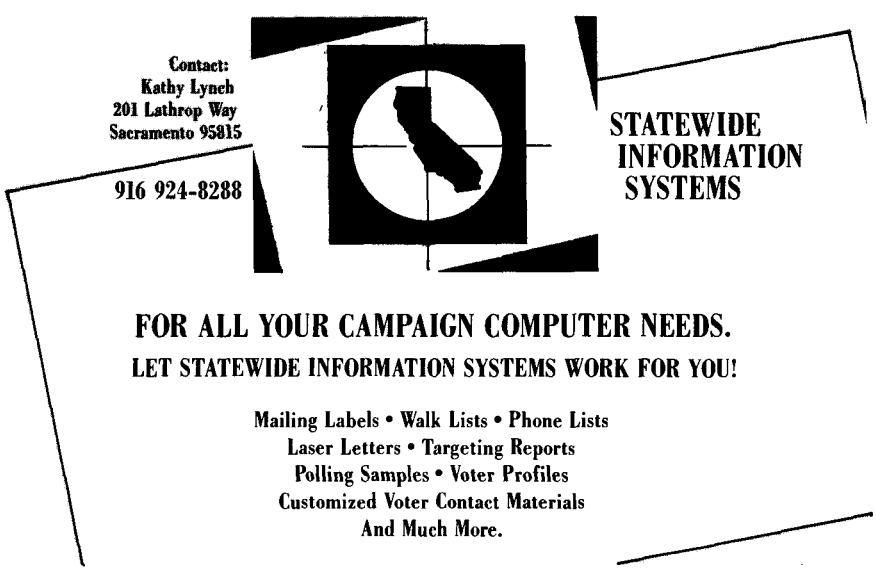

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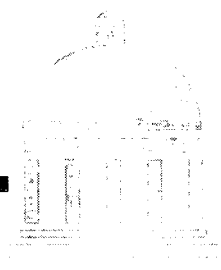

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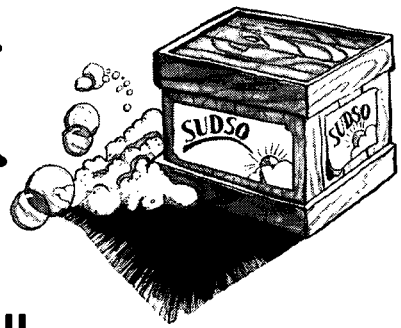
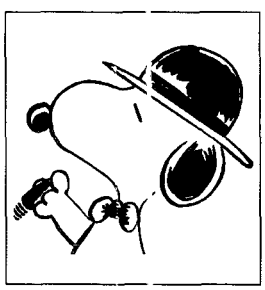
SOAPBOX



Political consultants, part II



Last month we ran a story on political consultants. We tried to be as comprehensive as possible, but the consulting business is dynamic; firms come and go, or re-form or expand into other areas. It's hard to keep up. And since the consulting business is made up of aggressive, competitive and none-too-demure people, our mailbox has been filled all month with letters setting the record straight.

Faulhaber Political Consulting
New York City

I am hopeful you will remind your readers that there are numerous political consulting firms that, while not based in California, still consider the state an important and desirable market. Their firms are both competitive and competent, despite their New York, Washington, D.C., or Iowa base. Many of these firms have already played a vital part in numerous local and statewide races throughout California.

Glazer and Associates
Roseville

Steven Glazer is president of Glazer and Associates, a full-service public affairs, media and campaign consulting firm. His current clients include Senate pro Tempore David Roberti, Los Angeles City Councilman Michael Woo and the Forest and Water Protection Committee. Glazer also directed the campaign that enacted a comprehensive ethics, campaign reform and salary reform measure for Los Angeles city government. Before starting his own firm, Glazer served as press secretary to Roberti and as press spokesman for former Chief Justice Rose Bird during her 1986 confirmation battle. He was also deputy campaign manager for Jerry Brown's 1982 U.S. Senate bid.

Allan Hoffenblum

Your article failed to mention one of California's most successful political consultants and the recognized "king of Republican slate cards" — Allan Hoffenblum. He is the former chief of staff for the Assembly Republican Caucus and former political director for the state Republican Party. Since starting his firm in the late 1970s, his client list has included Congressman Dana Rohrabacher, state senators Bob Beverly and Newton Russell, Assemblymen Gerald Felando and Bill Baker, Los Angeles Supervisor Mike Antonovich and Orange County Supervisor Harriet Wieder, to name a few. His slate card is the only one that reaches every Republican household in the state and is rivaled only by Democratic cards put out by Michael Berman and Carl D'Agostino.

Stephen Hopcraft
Sacramento

Your description of our firm is misleading. Your article states that Hopcraft Communications specializes in serving "non-profit and special-interest clients." Actually, we specialize in *public*-interest clients. If those ordinarily thought of as special interests were our clients, we would be much richer and higher-priced!

Roger Lee and Carol Beddo
San Jose

We are a medium-sized firm in California, employing 10 full-time people and providing both general campaign-consulting services and voter persuasion, direct-mail services. Two of our most recent successes have been the election of Susan Hammer as mayor of San Jose last November and maintaining the Democratic majority in Connecticut's statehouse, where we served as direct-mail consultant for over 40 campaigns. Other California clients include Assemblymen John Vasconcellos and Dom Cortese, Congressman Don Edwards and Lieutenant Governor Leo McCarthy, among others. Our firm also performs lobby and issue management, media management and special events.

Marathon Communications
Los Angeles

Marathon Communications, whose president is veteran political consultant Richard Lichtenstein, offers a broad range of services to both public- and private-sector clients; among those services are political campaign consulting, communications and government relations. Its client list includes the Rand Corporation, the cities of Oceanside and Santa Monica, state

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	NOVEMBER	
November 6	**Bill Analysis Workshop**	Sacramento
November 13	**Legislative Process, Bill Tracking and Analysis**	**Los Angeles**
November 14	**Advocacy and a very close look at Committee Procedure**	**Los Angeles**

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schools' chief Bill Honig, former Assemblyman Mike Roos, Los Angeles City Councilman Richard Alatorre and former Los Angeles City Council President Pat Russell.

Leo McElroy
Sacramento

Your story was on target with everything except your characterization of us as a "Democratic" consulting firm — an appellation which might not surprise clients like Secretary of State March Fong Eu or Lieutenant Governor Leo McCarthy but could surprise the daylights out of Republican clients such as Mike Antonovich, Bill Campbell, Maureen Reagan and Dave Stirling; or Libertarians such as County Supervisor Tom Tryon. We are fiercely independent and an "equal opportunity" consulting firm dedicated to electing the best possible candidate regardless of party affiliation.

Robinson Communications
San Francisco

Robinson Communications, headed by Richard Robinson (not the former assemblyman), has beaten four incumbents in the Bay Area even though we were dramatically outspent. Our client list includes U.S. Senators Alan Cranston, Gary Hart, Ted Kennedy and Joe Biden; Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley; Dianne Feinstein's gubernatorial campaign; Assemblyman John Vasconcellos; a host of school districts, cities and chambers of commerce. We have a unique insight into the workings of the U.S. Senate, California Legislature and local government. We provide campaign services that include exploratory committee assessments, strategic planning, day-to-day management, budget planning, media and direct-mail services, polling and opposition research, among others.

Joe Shumate
San Francisco

Your description of me as a consultant who "represents moderate GOP candidates, losing recently in Bill Steiner's Orange County special election" is wrong. Although Steiner did lose in the 67th District, he was not our candidate. We were hired by the California Medical Association to handle an independent-expenditure campaign, and we scrupulously avoided contact with any of the candidates in the 67th District. B.T. Collins won a special election in the 5th Assembly District. Collins is our client. Although flattered by your description of our capabilities, I was distressed by the implication that we only consult with moderate Republicans. Over the years, we have been retained by over 130 candidates and political organizations and our client list includes conservative Republicans, moderate Republicans and even one or two liberal Republicans. No Democrats, of course — we have to draw the line somewhere.

Stoorza, Ziegaus and Metzger
Sacramento

The Sacramento office of Stoorza, Ziegaus and Metzger does not lobby, as was inadvertently stated in your article. While the San Diego and Riverside offices represent candidates in local elections and advocate on the local level, the Sacramento office has never performed lobbying services. All four offices, including Los Angeles, continue to provide public affairs, coalition-building support, community relations, investor relations and crisis management services for a broad range of clients and campaigns.

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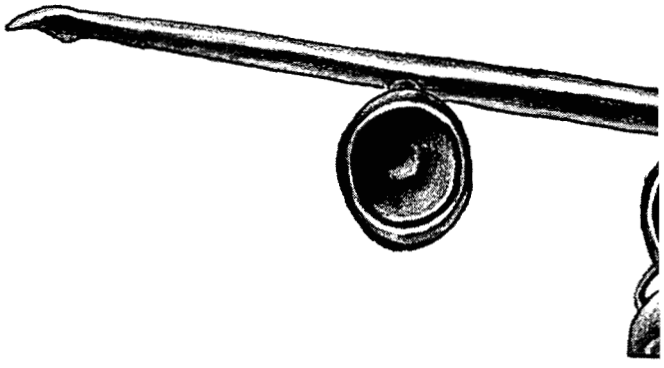
A twinport on the border

Will San Diego's next airport be in Mexico?



By Martin Hill

For decades, the City of San Diego has engaged in a futile search for a suitable site to relocate its cramped and aging international airport — Lindbergh Field. At last, San Diego officials believe they've found the perfect spot.

Okay, so there's one problem: Part of it is in another country.

City officials want to build a new airport straddling the U.S.-Mexico border, with parallel runways in Tijuana and San Diego shared by the air traffic of both countries. If adopted, the "TwinPorts" proposal — so dubbed by its creator, San Diego Councilman Ron Roberts — would establish the first bi-national airport in North America. Only one other trans-border airport has been built in the world: the international airport at Basel, Switzerland, which straddles the Swiss border with France.

As awkward as it appears at first glance, the TwinPorts plan has generated more momentum than any other proposal in the 40 years the city has searched for a replacement for Lindbergh. The San Diego City Council has endorsed TwinPorts as its preferred long-range airport plan. So has the local association of governments. Both the Greater San Diego Chamber of Commerce and the chamber of commerce of Otay Mesa — the San Diego border community where the U.S. portion of TwinPorts would be sited — support the proposal.

Martin Hill is a freelance writer from San Diego.

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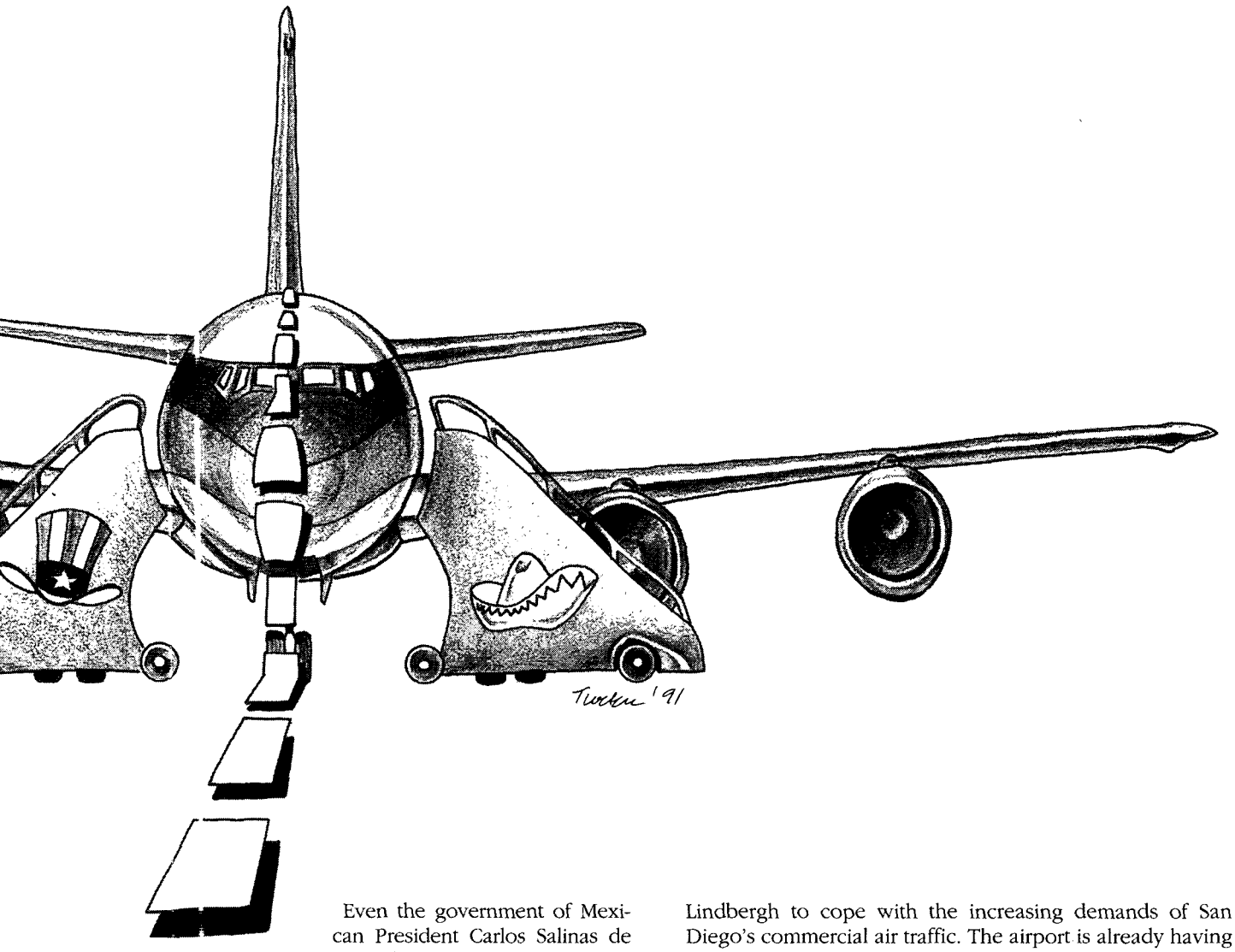

Even the government of Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari has agreed to a joint feasibility study of the proposal.

Despite the momentum, TwinPorts' final approval faces obstacles that go far beyond the normal environmental and land-use problems new airports usually face. In July, the San Diego County Board of Supervisors rejected the concept out of hand. Residents living in and around Otay Mesa have threatened lawsuits to block the proposed project. Federal border agencies oppose it, and the reception from the region's congressional delegation, who would have to fight for its funding in Washington, has been lukewarm. Even the City Council's support for the plan is sharply divided, and at least one council member who voted in favor of it admits he doesn't believe the proposal will ever get off the ground.

Surrounded on three sides by hilly terrain, and on the fourth side by San Diego Bay, Lindbergh Field was never meant to be a modern jet port. The city chose the site in 1927, hoping its harbor-side location would make it a major seaplane port for trans-Pacific flights. It never did.

Today, airline pilots complain that Lindbergh Field is too small for modern commercial jet operations. The surrounding hills force pilots to approach Lindbergh's single, too-short, heavy aircraft runway at an unusually steep angle. Former Navy aviators say landing at Lindbergh reminds them of carrier landings.

Hemmed in as it is, there is no chance of expanding Lindbergh to cope with the increasing demands of San Diego's commercial air traffic. The airport is already having difficulty coping with the 11 million passengers it serves each year. By the turn of the century, Lindbergh's inability to meet the press of passenger demands is expected to begin strangling San Diego's economy.

Economic impacts from Lindbergh's location, in fact, are already apparent. Despite its designation as an international airport, there are no international flights into or out of San Diego. The airport's short runway makes takeoffs difficult for airliners with full loads of fuel and passengers, and there are not adequate clearing facilities for immigration and customs.

Over the decades, study after study concluded the best site for a new commercial airport was the U.S. Navy's Miramar Air Station, located in the northern reaches of San Diego. The Navy, however, flatly refuses to give up its air base — home of the famed "Top Gun" fighter pilot school — or to share its location with a commercial airport. That left the city with no further options. Until TwinPorts.

Proponents of TwinPorts see it as San Diego's last best hope for a new international airport. The $1.5-billion plan calls for the extension of the runway at Tijuana's existing Rodriguez International Airport just across the border, and the construction of a parallel 12,000-foot runway on San Diego's Otay Mesa. The runways, connected by a common taxiway crossing the border, would be used by both countries, with traffic control maintained by a single flight tower on the U.S. side. Each country would maintain and operate

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separate passenger, cargo and customs facilities. TwinPorts would handle all of San Diego's long-range inter-state and international flights. Lindbergh would remain open for commuter and regional flights.

The idea of a shared Tijuana-San Diego airport is not new. The concept was originally proposed in the 1970s in one of more than 30 airport studies made over the years. At the time, the idea was considered unfeasible because of fears the bi-national airport would be vulnerable to the whims of international politics. Slowdowns by U.S. Customs officers at San Diego's border crossings, for instance, were used by both the Nixon and Reagan administrations to apply diplomatic pressure on the Mexican government.

Roberts dusted off the trans-border idea and modified it in 1989 after an earlier airport concept he supported, involving construction of an airport on Otay Mesa fully within the United States, proved unworkable. TwinPorts received its first big boost in late 1990 when several important businessmen in Tijuana gave it a warm reception. It didn't pick up real momentum until May, however, when Salinas, meeting with Roberts and San Diego Mayor Maureen O'Connor in Mexico City, agreed to the formation of a bi-national working committee to study the proposal.

Yet before that bi-national committee could hold its first meeting in July, cracks began to show in the support for TwinPorts. Speaking before a San Diego Chamber of Commerce forum on June 29th, Tijuana airport manager Felipe Baril described the TwinPorts proposal as one-sided, offering few benefits for Mexico.

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While saying he was eager to review Roberts' proposal, Baril restated the official Mexican view on TwinPorts. With the expansion of Rodriguez, which began that month Baril said, the Mexican airport alone could satisfy both Tijuana's and San Diego's international air travel needs well into the next century. That view had been stated by Mexican officials during the Mexico City meeting, but had been over-shadowed by the fanfare that followed Salinas' agreement on the bi-national committee.

That same day, San Diego Councilman Bruce Henderson issued a call for construction of satellite facilities on the U.S. side of the border to make use of the expanded Rodriguez Airport. Henderson had supported TwinPorts in a council vote just before the Mexico City meeting, and did again in a July 16th vote after his announcement. But the councilman admits he doesn't hold much hope for the proposal.

"I don't have any problem with TwinPorts," Henderson said. "I just don't think the talks will be fruitful. I don't think we need TwinPorts."

Henderson, in fact, took part in developing Mexico's official position. Concerned San Diego was missing out on Pacific Rim tourism, Henderson met with Mexican commerce and tourism officials in Tijuana in 1988 to discuss ways the two cities could quickly attract tourists directly to the border region. The conclusion they reached was to enlarge Rodriguez's runway to accommodate large jumbo jets, and to build passenger and cargo facilities in San Diego to make use of the Mexican airport. That proposal eventually was passed on to the federal government in Mexico City.

The councilman maintains TwinPorts is doomed to failure because it requires Mexico to shift much of the control of the Tijuana airport to the United States. "When I heard that, I suggested people go back and read up on the War of 1847," Henderson said, referring to the conflict that cost Mexico the territory that now makes up most of this country's Western and Southwestern states. "There is no reason to believe Mexican government officials are going to be willing to give up control of their airport to the United States."

Council aide Abrams, however, maintains the TwinPorts plan calls for equal control of the airport. "If we have equal facilities, it's hard to be arbitrary," he said. "If any one side is in control, I don't think even the Mexican officials would support it."

Abrams insists Henderson has misread Mexico's intentions. "Basically, Mr. Henderson has endorsed a proposal that's not even endorsed by the Mexican government," he said. The Mexican counter-proposal, Abrams said, was presented simply as a starting place for negotiations for what will eventually result in a compromise airport solution. "That's been their basic proposal since day one."

Roberto de la Madrid, Mexico's assistant director for airport construction, seemed to confirm Abrams statement when, following the first meeting of the bi-national committee in July, he announced that Mexico intended to give due consideration to TwinPorts, "as well as all other options."

Bob Filner, the San Diego councilman whose district includes Otay Mesa, agrees with Henderson that negotiation with Mexico will be fruitless. An outspoken critic of TwinPorts, Filner points out it took years of negotiating with Mexico City just to open a new border crossing at Otay Mesa. Years of talks have yet to stop Mexico from dumping raw sewage into the Tijuana River, which flows north into San Diego, he added.

"They will talk and talk and talk for five, 10, 15 years, and

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we'll end up with nothing," the councilman said. "Pursuing this path is preventing us from working on more promising alternatives."

Abrams conceded no deadline had been set for conclusion of negotiations. "We'd like to get it done as soon as possible," he said, "and I know the Mexican government would like to also."

Yet, San Diego may be running out of time for federal airport construction dollars. Fifteen airports across the nation have already received funding from the limited Airport and Airways Trust Fund, and more than 40 others have applied for funds. Republican Congressman Bill Lowery of San Diego, a member of the House Appropriations Committee, has been warning San Diego since 1989 that unless it moves quickly on an airport solution, the city could lose out on federal funding.

Even if negotiations with Mexico prove quick and profitable, there is no guarantee the TwinPorts proposal could survive the opposition mounted against it. Residents from Otay Mesa and from neighboring south San Diego Bay cities protested the plan, saying it was another attempt by San Diego's wealthy, more politically powerful northern districts to dump an unwanted, environmentally harmful project on the region's poorer communities. They fear the airport would increase traffic, pollution and noise in the south bay, and replace thousands of good-paying industrial jobs planned for the area with minimum-wage service industry jobs. Residents warned the City Council in July they would sue San Diego to stop TwinPorts from being constructed.

Shortly after that council meeting, the San Diego County Board of Supervisors rejected a request from San Diego to join the city in its support of TwinPorts. The supervisors argued the bi-national proposal failed to rid the region of Lindbergh Field, which one board member called "the most dangerous airport in the country."

U.S. Customs also voiced concerns over the proposal, citing the potential for increased drug smuggling caused by the mingling of ground personnel and operations. This concern, along with the opposition expressed by local residents, has caused Republican Congressman Duncan Hunter of Coronado to come out against TwinPorts.

San Diego's third congressman, Republican Duke Cunningham, expressed similar concerns in a June 19th letter to Chula Vista Mayor Tim Nader. In it, the first-term legislator said "no agreement on any airport in this area can be reached ... until any inherent problems are addressed and solved." Unless the concerns of south bay residents "are satisfied," the congressman wrote, "I will not be able to support any airport which might be proposed for this area."

Questions already are being raised over whether San Diego could hope to get federal dollars for the bi-national airport without the unified support of its congressional delegation. Not only would the local congressmen have to lobby their colleagues for the airport construction funds, but also for a congressional waiver to allow those monies to be spent on a project that would also benefit a foreign country.

Michael Abrams predicts opposition to the trans-border airport will wane once local residents see planned modifications, which should ease local impacts. "All evidence is that it's already lessening," Abrams said. "A lot of people in the south bay have either been neutral or supportive, and I think you'll start seeing more support for the proposal."

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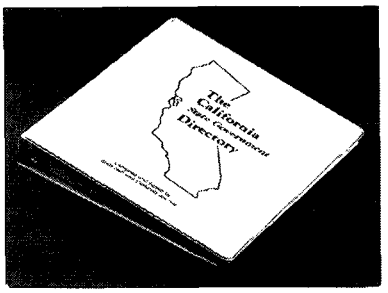

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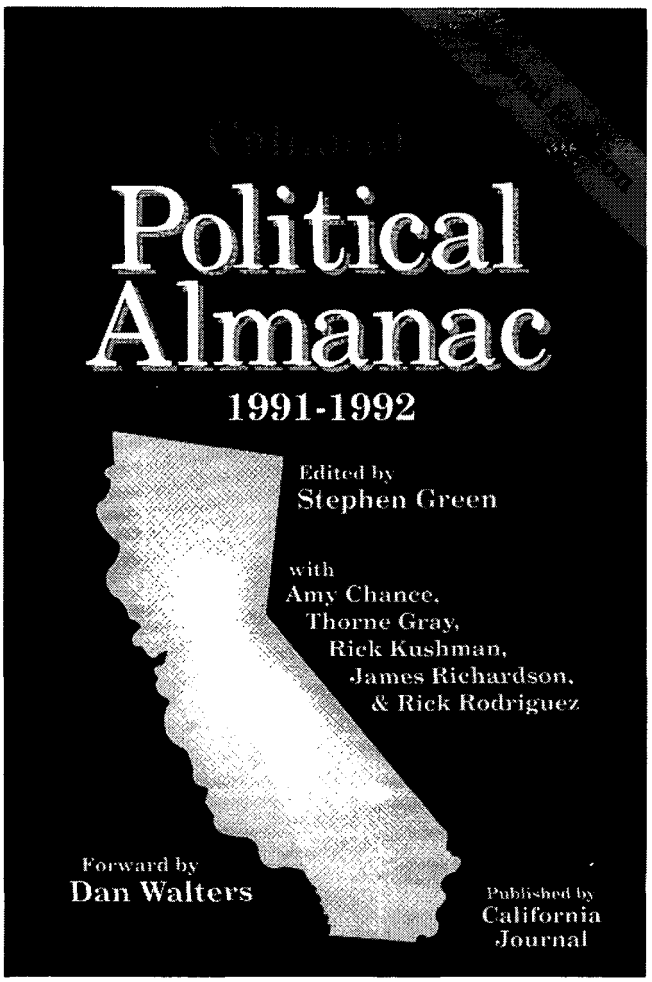

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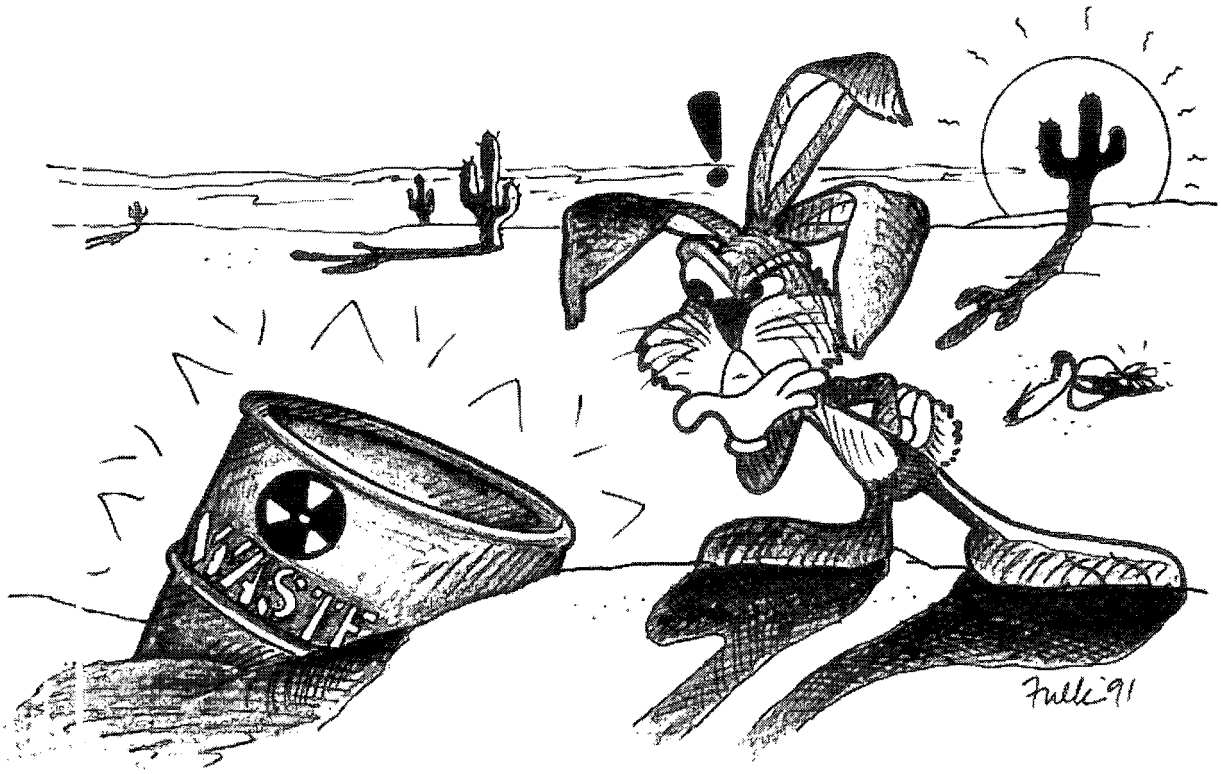

Leaving hot trash in California's desert

By Stanley Moss

Bored with the routine of daily life? Obsessed with the need to prove to your mother-in-law that you have the wisdom of King Solomon and can solve any problem?

Well, welcome to the Ward Valley in the California desert and a 70-acre spot about 22 miles west of the city of Needles. It is the ideal site, say the state's Department of Health Services (DHS) and US Ecology (USE), for the low-level radioactive waste (LLRW) facility the state is obligated by federal law to build for itself and for three other states with which it has a compact — Arizona, North Dakota, South Dakota.

Ideal? Absolute nonsense, protests a consortium of environmentalist groups. For starters, the organization, "Don't Waste California," warns that "a national treasure will become a radioactive sacrifice area ... and devastate irreplaceable desert ecosystems and creatures, including the already endangered desert tortoise."

The principal concern of the environmentalists is that radioactive waste can contain elements that have a half-life potency ranging from three years to 4.5 *billion* years. Sooner or later, they fear, radionuclides will leak out of the containers and the ditches in which they are buried to contaminate the earth and air with disastrous consequences for both people and the environment. What is at high risk, they say, is the Colorado River, 19.5 miles east, as well as an ancient body of underground water, known as an aquifer, that is said

Stanley Moss is a freelance writer from Encino.

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by some to be as large as Lake Tahoe and that sits under where the facility is to be located.

Beyond all that, opposition from environmentalists includes dissatisfaction with the DHS Environmental Impact Report (EIR); intrusion on the land the area's Indian tribes have occupied for hundreds of years; alarm that the facility will become a "national dump," conviction that US Ecology is the worst possible choice to build and operate the site; and that the state is opening itself to enormous liability risks.

Finding itself denounced in the bitterest terms as derelict in its fundamental responsibility — protection of the health of the people and their environment — Health Services thus far has held itself aloof. On July 22nd it held three simultaneous public hearings — in Sacramento, Los Angeles and Needles. The hearings were designed to give citizens an opportunity to offer comments and ask questions for the record and later consideration by the department. As the notice of the public hearings cautioned, there would not be "a question-and-answer period," nor would there be "cross examination."

Even in response to the state's principal elected fiscal officer — Controller Gray Davis — Health Services director Molly Joel Coye declined to discuss a matter of great concern to Davis in his official capacity — the state's liability in connection with the facility, including "if leakage were to occur." Her shut-the-door reply was, "...speculation about possible financial liability is not an issue related to the health, safety and environment, which are the subjects of the final EIR/EIS and draft license."

Although granting that financial liability might not be part of an EIR, it seems to many that it should be an integral part of drafting the license.

Other problems for DHS surfaced when both Lieutenant Governor Leo McCarthy and Davis, two-thirds of the three-member State Lands Commission, announced they objected to some aspects of the project as it stood, and would veto the state's taking title to the land from the federal government unless these concerns were satisfied. Among those concerns was Davis' perception that DHS was in a "rush to judgment;" the state's liability as owner of the licensed property needed careful examination; DHS' EIR was not fully adequate; location of the site needed more study; and the choice of US Ecology as licensee and operator of the facility was questionable.

As Davis put it, "The two of us make a majority, and if we both vote 'no,' that's it." He added that he supports the need for the facility but insists some questions need to be answered.

Both state Senator Bill Leonard and Assemblyman Paul Woodruff, Republicans whose districts include Ward Valley and Needles, are on record as opposed to the facility. The former says the negatives of the proposal outweigh the positives; the site's design is faulty because it does not include a liner; transportation of the waste on highways is risky; and there is no provision for special training of personnel in event of an emergency.

Woodruff opposes the choice of US Ecology; believes a liner is necessary; thinks the valley's climate has not been studied adequately; says DHS has not told the public it is retaining the option to accept mixed waste at the facility. Woodruff also says there is no compensation to the local community for adverse impact. "I remain strongly opposed to this proposal," Woodruff wrote to Coye, until these and other issues are "thoroughly addressed."

The site also developed problems in Washington, D.C., where Congresswoman Barbara Boxer, a talked-about Democratic candidate for the U.S. Senate, put herself and Congress in the middle of the growing dispute. She asked fellow Democrat George Miller, chairman of the House Interior Committee, for an investigation into the "company's [US Ecology] solvency, the adequacy of insurance coverage and the risk to California taxpayers, as well as any threats to the state's natural resources."

As for US Ecology, it is being attacked unceasingly by those opposed to construction of the facility as the wrong choice to build and operate the site. USE is faulted on the basis of its past record as builder and operator of similar sites in Sheffield, Illinois, and Maxey Flats, Kentucky, where leakages occurred and the states took possession of the sites. In both cases, there was lengthy litigation over who was responsible for the closure of the sites and for cleanup of the environmental damage.

Those who oppose USE for the Ward Valley facility, including some knowledgeable in the field, question the design of the site. Mainly, the question is whether or not the ditches should be lined as added protection against potential leakage of deadly toxic fumes. EPA does not require liners; in fact, discourages their use. Even a constant EPA critic like Hugh Kaufman, himself an employee of EPA as assistant to the director of hazardous waste disposal, in response to the usefulness of liners, said, "It's six of one and half-dozen of another."

David Huntley, professor of geological sciences at San Diego State University, critiquing HSD's impact report, suggests a clay liner for the bottom of the ditches to prevent leakage to the aquifer more than 600 feet further down. Other questions about the clarity and consistency of the EIR also have been sent to DHS for consideration.

Unlike DHS, US Ecology has been eager to answer questions and provide information, although the answers and information are not always complete and accurate. Environmentalists and other opponents, on the other hand, have used distortions to persuade the public to join them in their opposition. These include, but are not limited to:

- "The primitive dump design [unlined trenches in the sand] is below minimum safety standards for even ordinary municipal landfills;"
- "This deadly waste will be dumped in unlined trenches;"
- "California ... the national dump for nuclear wastes;"
- "US Ecology is being sued around the country."

The design of the Ward Valley facility is far from "primitive" and different from municipal landfills. Its trenches are as deep as 60 feet below ground level. The radioactive waste comes packaged in accordance with rigid NRC regulations, is put into special drums and then covered over with 24 feet of soil. The trenches are not lines. The trenches — along the walls, below and overhead — hold monitoring devices of several kinds to detect leakages out of and seepages into them.

Vegetation, reports USE, goes only 12 feet deep. Average rainfall is about six inches annually. As a test, the company created a 15-foot square, six-foot deep cavity into which it poured 5300 gallons of water. After 10 days, moisture monitors showed the water had penetrated 11 feet.

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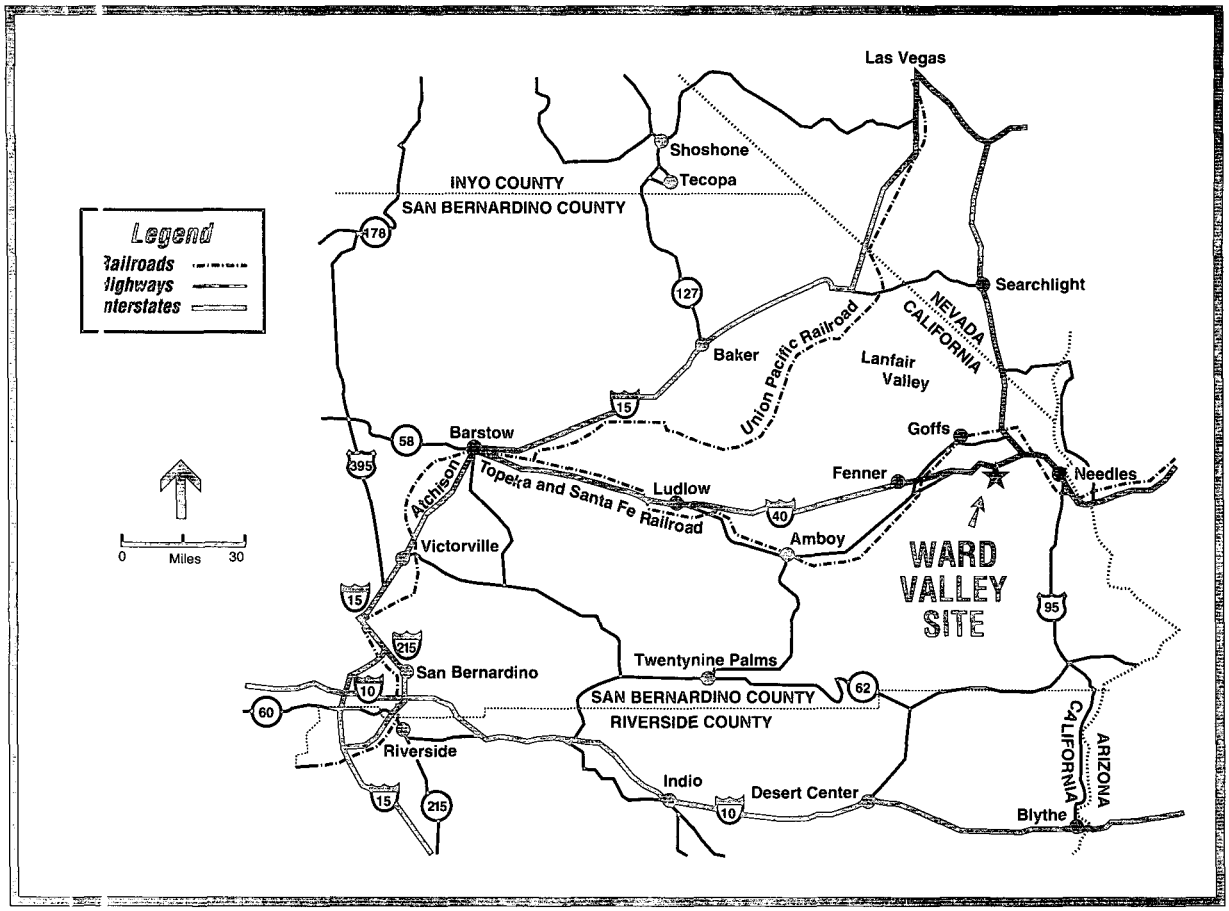

Nine months later, the wetting front had moved only one to two feet deeper. Measurement of natural rainfall elsewhere on the site during this period showed no infiltration below three feet. USE emphasizes the ditches are 24 feet below an earthen cap and go another 60 feet deep.

One of the more contentious charges by opponents of the project relates directly to the past record of USE in building similar waste sites that did leak, engendering lengthy lawsuits over costs in closing the sites and cleaning up the immediate environment.

Steve Romano, a vice president of USE and general manager of the project, and formerly a policy analyst for EPA, admits readily the company goofed. "Remember," he says ruefully, "this was in the early '60s when ... the government, the states, the companies like ours had no guidelines, no regulations, because nobody knew much about the problems. Almost none of the existing laws and regulations were even being thought of back then."

What costly experience in Sheffield and Maxey Flats taught USE was that such facilities must be on flat terrain, in an area of minimum rainfall, where the soil is almost impermeable; that packaging of waste is of paramount importance; and that the drums or barrels into which this packaged waste is put have to be constructed of such materials as carbon steel or polymer-coated concrete.

Romano feels the exaggerations concerning Sheffield and Maxey Flats are deliberate and malicious. In both cases, closure and cleanup are in progress, with funds supplied by USE at the Sheffield site and by USE and waste generators at Maxey Flats.

Site officials in Sheffield, Maxey Flats, Richland (Washington) and Beatty (Nevada) confirm that Romano is nearly correct. The Sheffield and Maxey Flats mess-ups are almost matters of the past. No public health threat yet has manifested itself, and closing of the sites and the environmental cleanup is expected to prevent any such threat. There is ongoing litigation with Maxey Flats in the form of reciprocal lawsuits: USE wants to recover some costs and the state wants USE to contribute more to the costs of closure and clean-up. In Illinois the court ruled recently in favor of the EPA's decision that USE did not have to excavate soil surrounding the Sheffield dump because of hazardous chemicals leaking from the site. Instead, erecting retention walls around the dump would suffice.

At the sites in Washington state and Nevada that were built a quarter of a century ago, officials state flatly that there has not been any evidence of leakage, and that their relationship with USE is "just fine," as one of them put it. The design of these two sites is virtually identical with that proposed for Ward Valley.

By federal law, every state (or compact of states) must have a LLRW facility in operation by January 1, 1993, at which time Washington state, Nevada and South Carolina will refuse waste from other states. California's failure to have a facility operating by then allows LLRW waste generators in the state to request that the state take title to and possession of its waste along with liability for any damage incurred by the generator. If the state does not take possession of the waste after January 1, 1993, it must remit to the generator 25 percent of fees it has collected from the generator from January 1, 1990, through December 31, 1992, plus interest.

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This situation will continue until the state has its facility and takes possession of the waste or until January 1, 1996, whichever comes first. There are 2254 laboratories, clinics, universities, hospitals, factories and utilities scattered throughout the state producing LLRW.

The verbal wrestling match between the opposing forces reaches stranglehold proportions when it comes to the matter of how much liability the state exposes itself to with the Ward Valley project. USE has made statements about the liability issue that needed revision or retraction. USE opponents have issued uninformed opinions. Even lawyers are unable to provide clear and unequivocal answers. Nonetheless, this is not an intractable question and there is reason to believe it can be settled and made part of the licensing agreement if Davis, McCarthy and Coye meet with Romano and his staff.

In certain circumstances and to some degree, the state may achieve some indemnification against liability. But as the state also is a generator of low-level radioactive waste it could be held to some liability along with the operator, other generators and transporters, as required by EPA's Superfund, if a threat to the public health developed because of leakage.

Low-level radioactive waste includes contaminated tools and clothing associated with the nuclear industry, waste products of nuclear medicine and research and pharmaceutical manufacture, government and academic waste, and utility waste. The federal government takes responsibility for disposal of high-level radioactive waste, including nuclear power spent fuel, the wastes associated with defense weaponry and other highly dangerous materials.

The California facility cannot accept high-level waste. Nor can any state outside the four in the compact ship its waste to the facility, unless it has emergency clearance from the federal government and abides by conditions shutting down manufacture of the products.

Environmentalists are viscerally distrustful of the government and experts employed by or beholden to the government — national, state or city — regarding ecology. They disdain government's display of environmental intentions as insincere and meant only to lull public concerns. They do not have any faith in the integrity of the nuclear industy.

"Low-level radioactive waste is a misnomer," declares Dr. Laura Lake, adjunct assistant professor of Environmental Science and Engineering, School of Public Health, at UCLA. "The nuclear industry is hiding behind the medical-waste crisis to prepare for a second generation of nuclear power plants." She and others want an end to the production of anything that generates radioactive waste, with the exception of medical and pharmaceutical products.

Still others advocate keeping radioactive waste overground at the site where it is produced and that it already has contaminated. There has been the suggestion of a series of regional overground disposal stations to reduce the number of sites. This, it is contended, would make correction of any leakage easier.

If there is a King Solomon available, now is the time for him to step forward and pronounce his solution to a most difficult conundrum.

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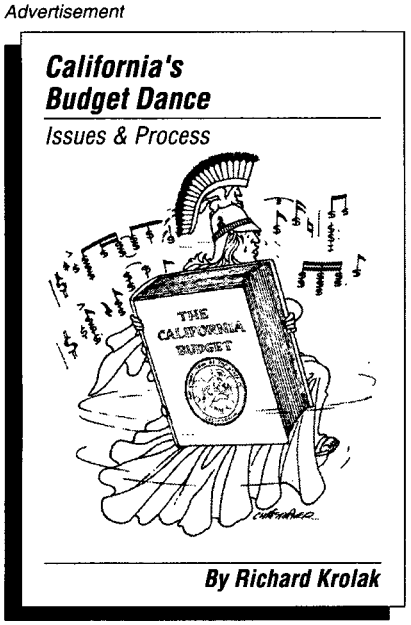

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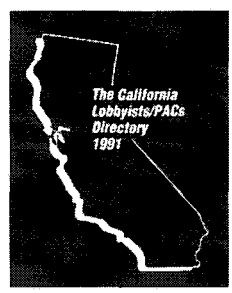

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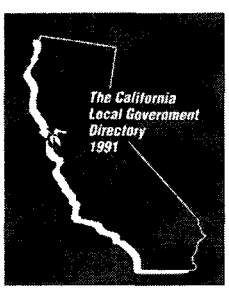

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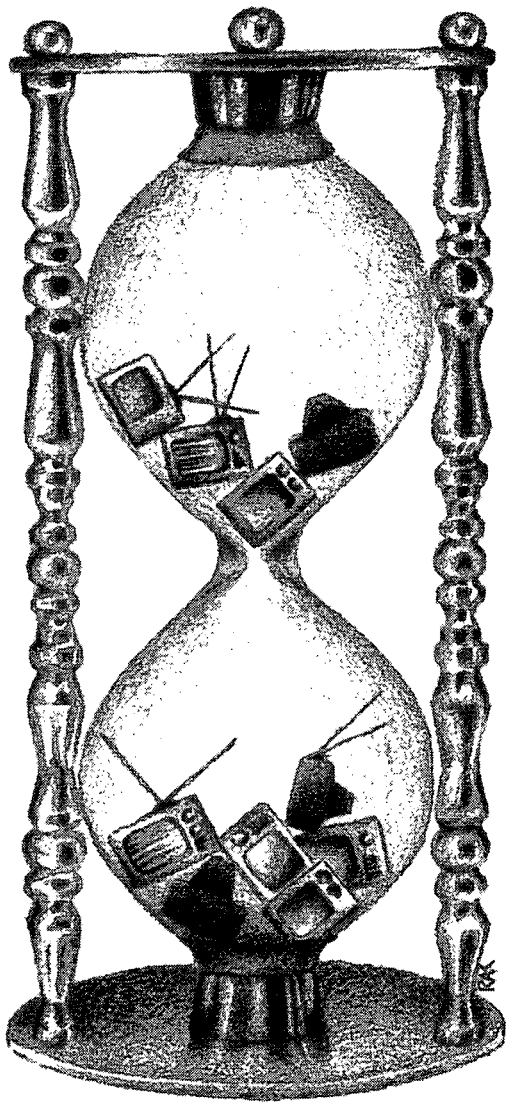

By Chris Ziegler and A.G. Block

Ah, politics. The people's business. The wheeling and dealing of public policy-making. Speeches, balloons, bumper stickers, televised debate. But that's the visible part of politics, the tip of the iceberg. Below the surface lurks the business of politics. And lately, that business has become mighty lucrative for an increasing number of specialists who regard politics as something of a gold mine.

Politics is a large, profitable industry. And like any industry, it has its accompanying mini-industries of middlemen. For instance, no modern candidate would consider running for office without a campaign consultant, and probably a pollster as well. And few consultants enter a campaign without a sub-specialist — an expert who buys air time or space for the candidate's political advertisements.

These latter firms — called media management or time buyers, and long active in the advertising business — have become important because political campaign teams increasingly sell candidates like Kellogg sells corn flakes. Media-management firms are familiar with media business practices, buy time for them and know how to avoid being gouged by unscrupulous stations.

Most media-management firms serve both businesses and politicians, and the language of the industry is wholly that of television marketing. Buyers use the same demographic research television advertisers use, such as the Nielsen ratings and Arbitron, and speak in terms of ratings points, "spots," "the creative," and "lowest unit rate." Most firms are nonpartisan, although some take positions on a few large issues. Media Plus in Seattle, Washington, for instance, is "a pro-choice shop," president Kathy Neukirchen says.

When a candidate wants to make a television commercial, his or her campaign consultant hires an advertising agency to design and produce the ad, called "the creative." Some consultants, like Republican-oriented Ray McNally, believe the time buyer should be included in planning campaign strategy, even helping decide what type of commercial should be made, based on the audience to be targeted and the stations that will broadcast the commercial.

Others, like Democratic consultant David Townsend, believe time buyers are "basically a brokerage."

The consultant generally hires the media buyer, although "we try to play as much of a role as the campaign will let us," Neukirchen says. She prefers to have contact with the campaign since it controls the money, and broadcasters require payment up front because political campaigns are often in debt. Time buyers receive between 3 and 7 percent of the cost of the buy, depending on the size of the purchase, and are paid by the consultant, McNally says.

continued on next page

Chris Ziegler was a California Journal *summer intern. A.G. Block is managing editor of the* Journal.

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Once the advertisement has been designed and the particular audience targeted, the media-management company simply buys the broadcast time or ad space. While broadcasters have lists of rates for certain time spots, these prices fluctuate between $10 to $10,000 for a 30-second commercial, depending on the time slot, says Byron Elton, sales manager at KXTV in Sacramento. Time buyers hinge their reputations on their ability to get good rates for their clients.

"A good media service knows how to lock up the right spots for a candidate," says Milton Beckman, president of National Media Consultant.

There are several types of rates: the fixed rate, the charging of which is frowned upon by the FCC; and the lowest unit rate, which is the rate required by the commission to be offered to candidates, says Bill Maguire, salesman for Los Angeles television station KABC.

The fixed rate is a special category of charges for candidates, and the FCC disapproves of this because the cost is often higher than what other advertisers pay for their commercials to appear in the same time period. As its name suggests, the lowest unit rate is the lowest price paid by a corporate advertiser whose commercial is to be aired during the same time period as the candidate's ad, Maguire explains. The lowest unit rate must be offered to campaigns for 45 days before a primary and 65 days before the general election.

The FCC mandates that stations offer the lowest unit rate, but many consultants believe, and time buyers claim, that candidates would be overcharged for advertising without the guidance and expertise of media-management firms. Townsend charges that broadcasters raise their rates at the end of summer, just in time for the political season, and that "they usually just rape you if you're an issue," since the lowest unit rate rule applies only to candidates and not to proposition campaigns.

Stations hotly deny this assertion. "We try to treat everyone equitably." says Dave Ulrickson, business manager at Sacramento television station KOVR.

"I don't believe that when you're dealing with politicians that buying services represent an edge," Maguire says, adding that he considers media-management firms unnecessary if stations follow FCC rules and treat candidates like other advertising customers.

Not all broadcasters follow the rules, however. In September 1990 the FCC audited 30 stations across the country, including six radio and television broadcasters in the San Francisco Bay Area, and found overcharging of candidates, largely by offering fixed rates. According to Maguire, the FCC audit "was very effective" in that "it made stations pay more attention to what they were doing" in following FCC regulations on political advertising. And it prompted the FCC to clarify its rules, which stations and time buyers alike call very confusing and often changing.

Meanwhile, candidates themselves are becoming more and more grumpy about what they perceive as gouging. To this end, Governor Pete Wilson and his 1988 U.S. Senate opponent, Lieutenant Governor Leo McCarthy, recently filed suit against 22 California television stations, alleging that their respective campaigns were overcharged for advertising.

It is such incidents of gouging and consultants' insecurity about dealing with the broadcasting industry that cause them to turn to media-management firms for help with their advertising campaigns. "They help you make smart buys," McNally says. Time buying is "a speciality science, it's complex and it moves very quickly. It's rough and tumble." McNally has purchased air time for his candidates but he prefers to use a time buyer as a matter of efficiency and convenience. "A campaign must move a very large number of people from point A to point B" and anything that helps do this will be used, McNally says, adding, "We need to hit voters hard and we need to hit them often."

"They know the lingo; they know the game," says Townsend on why he uses buying services for many of his races. He adds, however, that he will buy the time himself if it is a local race, so he can maintain contacts with local media.

Media-management firms also see themselves as a tool to be used in winning a political race. "Our objective is to get the candidate elected," Neukirchen says. "The object is to win."

Neukirchen emphasizes the belief that the electoral process is vital and that candidates should have every resource available to them to disseminate their campaign messages. "If you have a bad sale, you can have another sale ... but you only have one day to win in a political campaign," Neukirchen says. "The stakes are so high ... it all comes down to one day."

Jean Brooks, senior vice president of Western International Media, compared candidates to corporations seeking to sell a product. "They must market themselves based on a specific message," she says. Politics has become so complex that "it does require that all sorts of tools are used to communicate to people."

"I'm very idealistic and the reason I'm involved in this is that I am idealistic," Brooks says. "I feel that what we're doing is providing a public service by providing access" for candidates to the electorate.

Brooks rejects the idea that the use of time buyers helps give politics a corporate image, which could alienate voters, and has raised the cost of running for office. "Debates still occur; there are still town hall meetings," she says.

Use of time buyers is extensive in campaigning, but not all consultants use them. Leo McElroy consults mainly for initiative campaigns, usually for the underdog side, and so does not often have a lot of money to spend on advertising. He uses a time buyer if a lot of money is involved or it is in the last days of a campaign when he has little time to haggle with stations. He also uses a time buyer if the advertisement is to be done by direct mail or in newspapers or magazines, because he is not familiar with those areas of the mass media, McElroy says. McElroy cites his 31 years work in broadcasting as the reason why he does not need to use media management firms, and says that stations call him when they are unclear on FCC rules.

McElroy appears to be an exception. Most consultants consider media-management firms a necessary tool when managing a campaign. Time buyers, of course, see themselves as indispensible to the political process. For the station salespeople, "It's pretty much business as usual," says Sacramento KRCA-TV advertising manager Ron Longinotti.

And the bottom line?

"The good thing about political advertising is that they spend a lot of money," Elton said.

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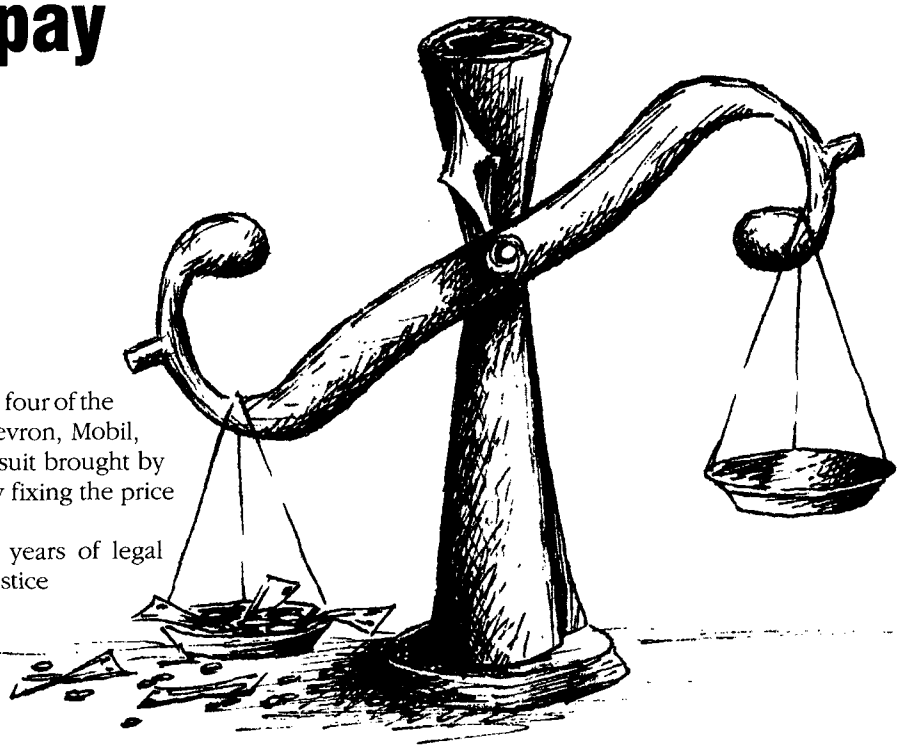
Justice for sale

Faster justice for those who can pay



By Mariel Garza

After more than 15 years of litigation, four of the nation's top oil companies — Chevron, Mobil, Shell and Texaco — settled a lawsuit brought by the State of California for allegedly fixing the price of crude oil.

Rather than face another 15 years of legal maneuvering in an already overcrowded justice system, the two parties agreed in August to reach a private resolution with the help of a hired judge. The case, which put about $220 million into state coffers, was just one of the many civil matters that have been settled through the increasingly acceptable — and lucrative — business of private judging, or "alternative dispute-resolution."

Over the past decade, there has been an unprecedented boom in for-profit, alternative dispute-resolution businesses, or ADRs. The business is built around individual judges and professional arbitrators selling their knowledge and expertise to frustrated litigants, as well as to big business firms, tailoring proceedings for parties willing to pay.

And not coincidentally, that growth has paralleled an equally dramatic rise in demand on the state courts system, prompting litigants who can afford it to find other sources of judicial remedy.

"Litigation takes so long and costs so much," said Richard Birke, associate director of the Center on Conflict and Negotiation at Stanford Law School. "There are more cases out there than courtroom time. Because of the incredible needs of criminal cases, a lot of civil cases may never get to be heard."

Enter dispute-resolution and private judging firms, which offer a quicker, easier and often cheaper solution.

ADR is a broad category, encompassing everything from non-profit neighborhood mediation centers resolving small-claims disputes between neighbors and family members to the high-powered firms that boast a choice of distinguished retired judges to hear cases whenever and however the parties choose, for a fee.

continued on next page

Mariel Garza is a freelance writer in Southern California.

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It is this business aspect of the ADR industry, the so-called justice-for-sale, that has drawn wary looks from skeptics.

Parties pay around $300 and $400 per hour for judicial arbitration services, which allows them to pick their judge, pick their hearing date and stipulate all the other details of the hearing.

"The essence of ADR is that you put the control of the dispute in the hands of the disputants and take it out of the hands of the court," said Richard Chernick, president of the Los Angeles County Bar Association and a partner at Gibson, Dunn and Crutcher.

But that is exactly what some fear: that too much will be taken from the courts and the public, and that private-sector cases will end up decided behind closed doors.

"My view is that any case the resolution of which judges use and that stands the possibility of being precedent-setting should be heard in public," said Sacramento Municipal Judge Rudolph Loncke, who has publicly voiced his concerns about the private judging industry growing unchecked. "Any case that affects the people of California should be resolved by the people accountable to the people of California."

Loncke agrees that judicial arbitration has done good things. However, he warns that without a thorough examination of the ADR businesses, there is a potential for problems ranging from a loss of talent on the bench to sitting judges posturing for the private firms to discrimination in the choosing of private judges.

"The checks and balances aren't there," Loncke said. "I'm not saying any of this is happening. But it is something we should avoid."

Chernick disagrees with the assertion that important public cases could end up in a private hearing. "No one in their right mind would take a case like that," he said.

Still, the fledgling industry remains unregulated by an overseeing body.

However, that may change since both the Judicial Council and the State Bar have begun to study the ADR industry and to develop guidelines.

"I think there is the beginning of some overseeing of ADR through the courts and the bar, " said Sheila Purcell. As a dispute program developer for the State Bar Association, Purcell provides technical support to ADR groups serving middle- to low-income clients. Purcell said she has recently been appointed to the Judicial Council's advisory committee on dispute resolution that will review and make recommendations on how the courts refer cases out to ADR.

Few dispute that the court system is jammed, making it harder for the average litigant to access justice. This in turn makes ADR a much more attractive option than taking one's chances with the courts.

The story goes, according to Chernick, that in 1978 two lawyers working a case through the backlogged Los Angeles Superior Court decided they had waited long enough. The two apparently contacted a retired judge who agreed to hear the case. When the lawyers discovered how helpful the alternative process was, they spread the word. Thirteen years later, private judging and ADR firms are disposing of tens of thousands of civil cases annually.

Orange County-based Judicial Arbitration and Mediation Services was one of the first firms to mine this rich judicial vein. Begun in 1979 by retired Orange County Superior Court Judge H. Warren Knight, JAMS now employs 160 retired judges and has heard 11,000 cases throughout the country.

"Basically, my thought after eight years on the bench was that there must be an easier way to do this," Knight said.

The firm, which mediated the settlement between the four oil companies and the State of California last month, will set up just about any arrangement for a dispute hearing that the involved parties want.

Although in the long run firms such as JAMS may save hundreds of thousands of dollars in legal fees and court time, some regard private judging as an elitist form of justice.

James Ford, presiding judge in the Sacramento County Superior Court, said recently in a commentary in the *Daily Journal*, a Los Angeles legal newspaper, that "the perception and reality will always be that [private judging] is a vehicle for the well-to-do."

That perception may be true, but Chernick said that the broader growth of the industry has and is creating more resources for everyday disputes and less-affluent litigants.

For example, he cites Los Angeles County's dispute-resolution program, which began as a small neighborhood justice center. That effort has grown to a thriving mediation program that has resolved "tens of thousands of cases that might have found their way into the courts."

"I think everybody is equally able to participate in the private resolution process," Chernick said. "It's not like the private hospital/public hospital, private school/public school dichotomy."

Though relatively new to the business arena, private dispute resolution itself is not. Centuries before the institutionalization of the legal system, tribes and villages would bring disputes to the wise elder for resolution. However, with the creation of justice systems, people increasingly looked to the courts for answers.

But now that court dockets are close to reaching critical mass, many legal associations and justices and government officials are looking toward ADR to catch the runoff and to assist the system in providing justice for all.

Since 1926 the American Association of Arbitration, a non-profit resolution organization, has worked in conjunction with the country's courts to clear up civil cases. The arbitration association also has seen a jump in cases with a national high in 1990 of 65,000, said Jerry Murase, regional vice president in Los Angeles.

In his speech to the American Bar Association in August, Vice President Dan Quayle advocated the use of a "multi-door courthouse," which would provide accessible alternatives for disputants. "This idea will, of course, empower people with disputes, and it'll help unclog the courts," he said.

However, only civil cases benefit from alternative dispute resolution. And if the governments want to unclog the courts, it should focus instead on criminal cases, Judge Ford said.

"The government has to abandon the idea that the criminal-justice system is the answer to the war on drugs," Ford said. "Because it is the drug cases causing the delays in the courts."

The urgency of criminal cases, when often a defendant is being held in jail until trial, gives them priority over civil cases. And as criminal cases keep pouring in, civil matters are often pushed aside, Ford said. But if the flow of the criminal cases subsided, civil litigants could once again be guaranteed their day in court.

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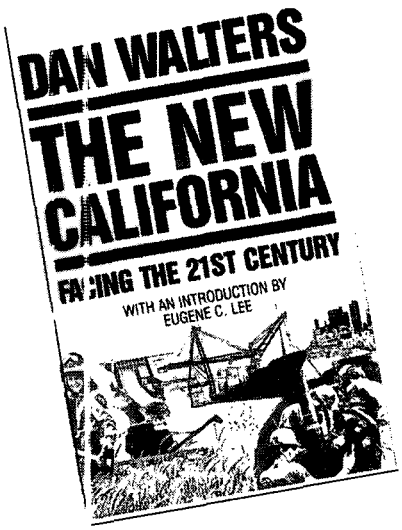
BOOKS from California Journal



The New California — Facing the 21st Century

by Dan Walters
with an introduction
by Eugene C. Lee

The *Sacramento Bee's* well-known political correspondent, Dan Walters, completed a 9000-mile odyssey through California's 58 counties which served as the basis for this book. It describes the socioeconomic future of the nation's largest state and the political implications of these trends. This lively and insightful book has become a basic reference on California since its publication in 1987. The 180-page book contains numerous charts with detailed political and demographic data. Price: $8.95.

California Government and Politics Annual, 1991-92. Published every year, the Annual consists of reprints of California Journal articles covering the various branches of government, elections, political reform, lobbying, finance, local government, the environment and much more. 8$^{1/2}$ x 11", 128 pages. $7.95 paper.

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WASHINGTON PERSPECTIVE

By LARRY LIEBERT

Jerry Brown redux

National Democratic leaders didn't exactly exhale a collective sigh of relief when Jerry Brown offered himself as their presidential nominee for 1992. The famously offbeat ex-governor of California probably was not quite what they had in mind when they prayed for a heavyweight who could serve as a serious challenger to President George Bush.

AT THE VERY LEAST, THE WITTY, inventive Brown could inject humor, energy and imagination into what could be a yawn of a Democratic campaign season. At the very worst, however, the mercurial, quirky Brown risks making himself and the party look ridiculous.

At the age of 53, Brown is offering himself to America as the ultimate outsider, the candidate of "the legions of discontent."

"Our democratic system has been the object of a hostile takeover, engineered by a confederacy of corruption, careerism and campaign consulting," Brown said in a letter to supporters announcing that he was exploring a possible presidential candidacy. Brown said he gave up his initial plans to run for a Senate seat because "sometimes the moment demands that country be put before career." As is usually the case with Brown, however, there were more cynical explanations afloat:

Did he view a symbolic presidential race as a no-lose proposition after concluding that he could not win a real, down-to-earth race for the Senate? Did he vow to accept only contributions of $100 or less — after a career of unashamedly courting millions of dollars in special-interest funds — simply because he knew that he did not stand much chance of raising big money this time? And, despite his denunciation of campaign consultants, was there truth to the rumors that he was getting whispered advice from Pat Caddell? Caddell — the political svengali who helped plot insurgent strategies for Jimmy Carter, Gary Hart and Joe Biden — now lives in California, although he reportedly has denied counseling his friend Brown.

It's a characteristically audacious return to elective politics for Brown, who was ousted from that line of work when California voters chose Pete Wilson instead in the Senate race of 1982.

"People are sending a message that they'd like to see me defeated for a while," Brown told me the morning after that humiliation. He added, "I'm going to be a force in the government process for a long time to come, even though I may be temporarily on sabbatical .... I could be gone six years, and I'll still come back and there won't be a lot of people who will be as well-known."

Well, he's back. And most California voters do still know Brown, although a California Poll showed that a daunting half of those who know him still dislike him. Outside of California, those voters old enough to remember the 1970s may have only a fuzzy memory of the politician who rode around in a Plymouth, talked about our destiny on "Spaceship Earth" and went to Africa with Linda Ronstadt.

Brown's attempted comeback brought back memories of his two previous presidential campaigns, which I covered extensively. In 1976, Brown mounted an eleventh-hour challenge to Jimmy Carter. The Californian won five primaries, mostly because a lot of Democrats wanted to protest the growing certainty that the Georgia peanut farmer with the toothy grin was about to get their party's nomination.

Many Americans were also intrigued by the fresh young California governor who called for "a new generation of leadership." He was years ahead of most politicians in championing environmental protection, cultural diversity and high-tech industries.

But even before Chicago columnist Mike Royko dubbed him "Governor Moonbeam," many voters doubted Brown was presidential material. I remember telling Brown in 1976 that a Baltimore cab driver had said of him: "That guy seems a little flaky." Disbelieving, Brown scoffed, "No, he didn't. You made that up. Nobody thinks that but reporters."

In Brown's second, disastrous presidential campaign, he ran as an "insurgent" and built his campaign in New Hampshire's primary almost exclusively around the narrow issue of opposition to nuclear power plants. He portrayed himself as "a Democrat in the Roosevelt tradition" but embraced calls for a constitutional amendment to balance the federal budget. He called for an end to the nuclear arms race yet became curiously transfixed on the idea of providing high-tech anti-tank weapons to rebels fighting the Soviet-backed regime in Afghanistan. ("If those laser-guided weapons were made available, it might make a tremendous difference," he told a bewildered audience in Waterloo, Iowa.)

At every campaign stop in the fall of 1979, Brown offered an arresting, if offbeat, aphorism:

- "I think I have a very good grasp on government. I sometimes believe in the wisdom of the possum. A possum just lies there — but when he's ready, he moves."
- "When you see people jogging in Golden Gate Park, most of their shoes are made in Korea, not New Hampshire."
- "If we do not invest in the future, in new technology and space, this country will continue its downward slide. In that consciousness that grows out of a space age, we will then feed back into our thinking the oneness of the human race."

BY MARCH 1980, BROWN HAD FAILED TO WIN a single primary or caucus. Yet he refused for weeks more to quit his futile presidential race, and he slipped deeper into mystical themes. Some of his more conventional advisers despaired that Brown had become the creature of a circle of "New Age" faddists. One supporter groused that French-accented aide Jacques Barzaghi filled Brown "with this Zen Buddhist mumbo jumbo."

"He still has a very bright political future," one confidant said back then, "but he can't continue running around, looking like a young Harold Stassen."

Brown is not so young anymore.

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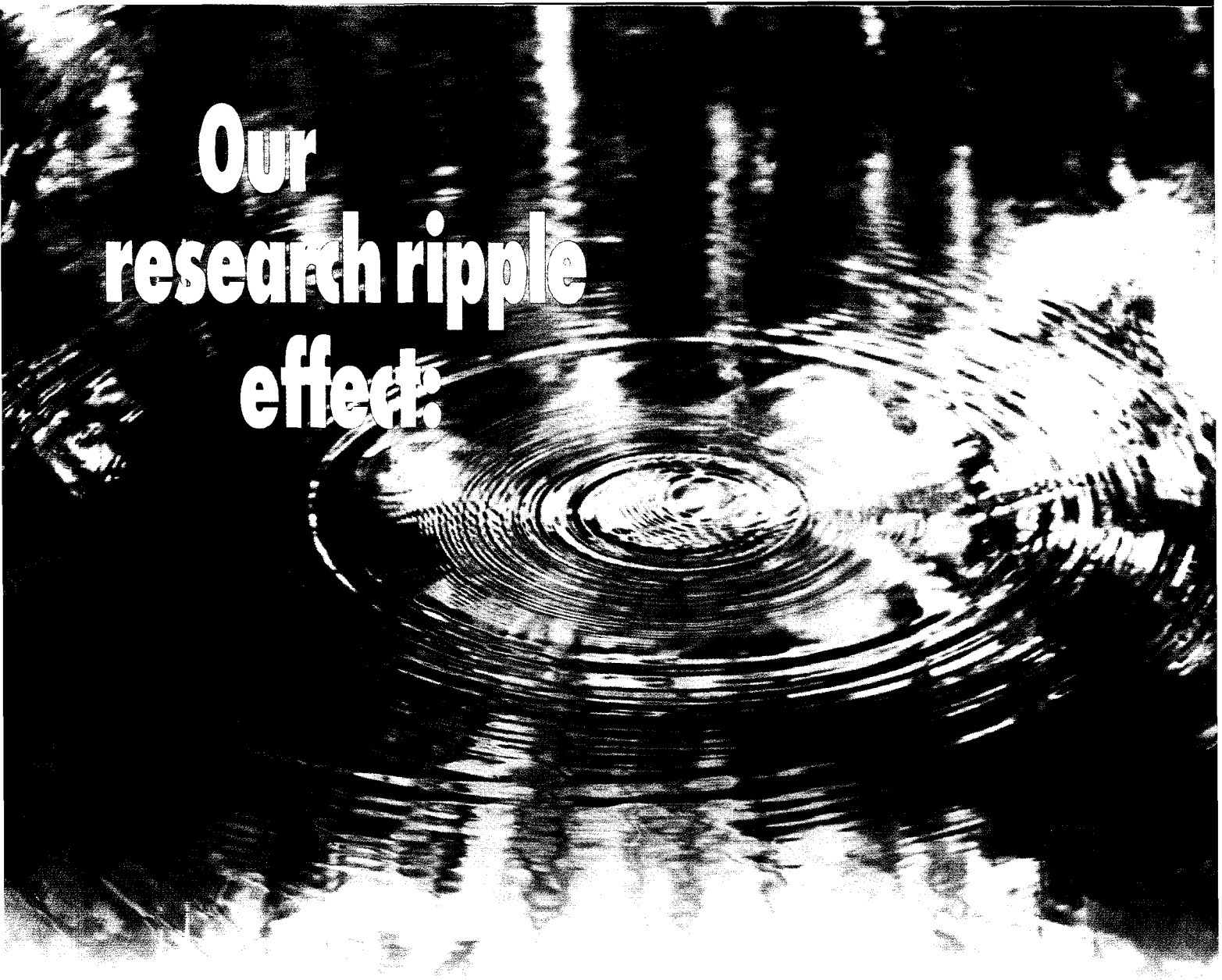

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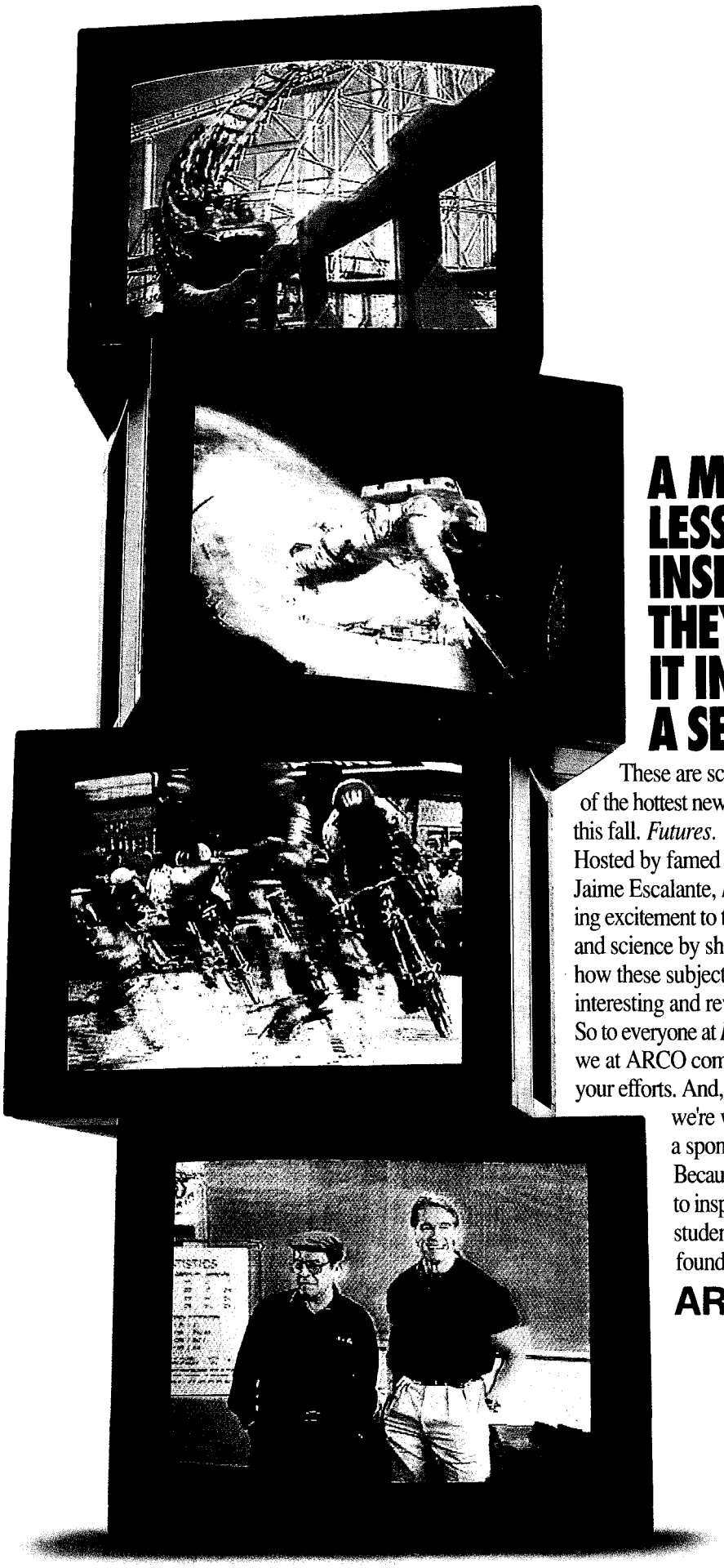

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